THE
MODERN CHURCHMAN

By identifying the new learning with heresy, you make orthodoxy synonymous with ignorance.—*Erasmus*

A State without the means of change is without the means of its conservation.—*Edmund Burke.*

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A BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD OF THE MODERN CHURCHMEN'S MOVEMENT, 1898—1957

AVE ATQUE VALE

THIS number of the *Modern Churchman* constitutes a significant 'Signs of the Times', at least for its editor and founder. It is a 'mixed grill' recording significant features and forces, activities and agents of the Modern Churchmen's Movement and seeks to provide an accessible and reliable collection of facts for those interested in the endeavours and developments of that Movement.

At its meeting on September 27, 1956, the Council of the Modern Churchmen's Union considered the following letter which I had sent to their Director.

'My dear Rhodes,

As the upshot of our discussions and correspondence you are free to make the following statement to the M.C.U. Council on September 27.

I have decided to resign my forty-six years' editorship and ownership of the *Modern Churchman* on December 31, 1956. This will be preceded by the issue of the belated Conference number in September and followed by the publication of a Double Number (Nos. 3 and 4, 1956) in December.

It is proposed that thereafter the *Modern Churchman*, to be owned and published by the M.C.U., printed at the Holywell Press, Oxford,

shall continue its existence as a religious quarterly in exactly the same style as at present. My idea is that the *Modern Churchman* should have (1) a distinguished Oxford or Cambridge Don as editor. (2) A competent theological reviewer and critic as assistant editor. (3) An editorial board of six very distinguished modernist theologians—as a *decus et tutamen.* All these posts will be honorary, but the editor and assistant editor will receive grants to meet office expenses, etc.

With reference to the policy of the *Modern Churchman* in the present crisis, I am convinced that we must stand unflinchingly for the following:

(1) That the Revised Canons be not legalized nor be claimed to possess legal authority.

(2) That the Revised Canons be not imposed on the Clergy or included in any form of subscription required from them. Such legalization and imposition of the Revised Canons would deprive the Church of England of the freedom secured for it by the Amended Subscription Act of 1865 (*cf.* Dean Stanley's *Essays on Church and State*, published in 1870).

(3) That our policy of Church reunion should authorize intercommunion when desired by communicants of any Christian denomination at the Lord's table in our National Church. Whilst retaining the direction in our Baptismal Service that Confirmation should be received as a preparation for Holy Communion the Rubric inserted in the Revised Prayer Book of 1662 at the close of the Confirmation Service: *And there shall be none admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as he shall be confirmed, or ready and desirous to be confirmed* should be excised.

I regard these three issues of such importance that if the M.C.U. will not stand unflinchingly for this policy at the present time it is not loyal to the practical application of its aims and ideals.

Yours sincerely,
H. D. A. MAJOR.'

This letter was published in the *Modern Churchmen's Bulletin* of December with the following comment:

'In the subsequent discussion the Council left no doubt of its desire to do the utmost possible to fulfil Dr. Major's wishes'.

ORIGIN OF THE M.C.U.

The Modern Churchmen's Union (originally named the Churchmen's Union) was founded 1898 and the first stage of its existence is thus described by Philip Henry Bagenal, O.B.E., barrister, journalist and private secretary to a Victorian cabinet minister. Bagenal was not inappropriately a male descendant of Sir Ralph Bagenal, the only member of Parliament who in Queen Mary's reign refused to kneel to receive the Papal Absolution pronounced by Cardinal Pole on those who confessed their penitence for having supported her father's renunciation of the Papal supremacy in his dominions.[1]

[1] cf. P. H. Bagenal's *Vicissitules of an Anglo-Irish Family*, 1530—1800. (Clement Ingleby, Great James St., W.C. 1. (1925).

P. H. Bagenal writes :

In the summer of 1898 I happened, as I well remember, to see on one of Smith's bookstalls in Norwich a new weekly paper called the *Church Gazette*. I was astonished and delighted to find that it was an out-and-out advocate of Liberal theology, freedom of criticism and research, a comprehensive National Church, and the claims of the laity to a responsible position in the Church of England. On enquiry I learned the origin of this phenomenon in journalism. It lay in the strong conviction of a clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. William Routh, that in order to break the conspiracy of silence which for long had marked the stricter sect of the orthodox towards the inheritors of the Broad Church movement, all that was required was *an organ in the Press* for the expression of Liberal theological opinion. This brilliant, courageous, and self-sacrificing effort on the part of an individual Churchman, who spent a large sum of money upon the venture, richly deserves to be recorded.

The *Church Gazette* ran for a couple of years, and ceased. But although a financial failure in journalism, it proved to be the seed-bed of the Modern Churchmen's Union. In its early numbers the Rev. H. G. Rosedale, vicar of St. Peter's, Ladbroke Gardens, opened a correspondence which produced the first organized gathering of Modern Churchmen. On July 27th, 1898, a number of the pioneers of the present movement met in London. They discussed the Church's need of progressive thought and the means of meeting that need by *association*.

Letters of encouragement, and of regret for their inability to be present, were read from Dean Bradley, Dean Farrar, Dean Lefroy, Dean Fremantle, Dr. Welldon, Archdeacons Madden, Sinclair, Waugh and others.

The Churchman's Union (its primitive designation) was formally inaugurated at a meeting at the Church House, Westminster, on October 31, 1898.

The Executive Committee's efforts at propaganda began at once with the publication of a series of leaflets, the organization of meetings, and the formation of branches.

Pursuing the early history of the Modern Churchmen's Union, we reach its first annual meeting on October 6th, 1899, at St. Peter's parish room, Bayswater. The Holy Communion was celebrated in St. Peter's Church before the meeting, and this custom has been followed ever since. The Rev. Hastings Rashdall, Fellow of New College, Oxford, preached the sermon. It is worth while recalling the notes which this sermon struck :

Differences of opinion are not inconsistent with essential unity.

Differences of thought or expression should not be made grounds of practical separation.

(1) *Belief in a personal God.*
(2) *Belief in personal immortality.*
(3) *Belief in a unique and paramount revelation of God in the historic Christ.*

On this basis—the moral and religious consciousness of Jesus—a vast superstructure of doctrinal and ritual and ethical tradition had been built ; some useful, some useless, not all intrinsically important.

The never-finished process of building the fabric of knowledge in which every truth has its place must be recognized as part of the continuous self-revelation of God to the world.

There has always been a period of transition in the growth of Christianity, *e.g.* in the days of Constantine, of Scholasticism, of the

Reformation. The moment theology ceases to move it loses its hold on the life of the age.

Few know the difficulty of organization until they begin to attempt it. Finance was the bugbear from the outset. The cost of printing, stationary, postage, and all the paraphernalia of an organization is never ceasing and is always in the background of every movement.

The third annual report on May 29, 1900 discloses the progress which the Union was slowly making. The Rev. Dr. Geikie-Cobb, Vicar of St. Ethelburga's, London, was appointed organizing secretary. Among its new members were such well-known public men as Sir John Lubbock, Sir Edward Russell, later Lord Russell of Liverpool, Rev. Dr. R. H. Charles, Canon Moore Ede, and J. M. Wilson, (Headmaster of Clifton).

Our Metropolitan Organizer

It will not surprise those who know the history of Great Britain that the Metropolitan Organizer of our Union was a Scotsman, William Douglas Morrison (1852-1943), educated at Glenalmond, (Hon. LLD., St. Andrews).

Ordained in 1877, he spent fifteen years of his early ministerial life as a prison chaplain in Bradford and Wandsworth. In this sphere he did most valuable work which led to important reforms in our prison system, especially in the treatment of young criminals, and earned for him public commendation by Lord Haldane. Morrison's researches and recommendations were published in two books, *Crime and its Causes* (1890) and *Juvenile Offenders* (1896). The findings of these books were not based solely on Morrison's personal experience. He was also a profound student of the literature of criminology. Morrison's *Juvenile Offenders* was translated into German in 1907 and was commended highly by German criminologists.

Morrison also contributed one of the best volumes in the series *The Story of the Nations* on *The Jews under Roman Rule.* For some years he acted as editor of the *Theological Translation Library*, which did valuable work in introducing English readers to outstanding contributions made by contemporary Continental scholars to Theology, Church History and Biblical Criticism. Appointed Rector of Marylebone by the Crown in 1908 where he remained for thirty-three years, he did much to make his parish schools the most efficient of their kind in the London Diocese. A forcible speaker, calm and dignified in manner, a sound administrator, he was an ideal rector of a great metropolitan parish : an active, practical, judicious philanthropist, without cant, without fads, without self-seeking.

He certainly ought to have received ecclesiastical promotion, but the Bishop of London, Winnington-Ingram (1901—1939) was intensely opposed to the Modernist Movement of which Morrison was the offending head.

Sir Thomas Dyke-Acland

Sir Thomas Dyke-Acland, who in 1908 followed Dr. Morrison in the Presidency of the Modern Churchmen's Union, differed widely from his predecessor, not in his religious principles but in his environment.

The owner of large estates in Devon and Somerset, he took no little interest in the material, religious and moral condition of the cottagers and labourers of his tenantry. A patron of a number of livings, he gave that conscientious consideration to the appointment of suitable incumbents which so often enables the lay patron, at any rate, when he is a resident, to make better appointments than those which are made by over-worked bishops or partisan ecclesiastical Commissioners.

In 1908 he contributed an interesting essay on 'Political Liberalism' to a volume entitled *Liberal Anglicanism*, a collection of essays written by twelve members of the Modern Churchmen's Union.

His creed as a Liberal layman seems to us to be summed up in one paragraph in that essay:

> The English Churchman feels, at the bottom of his heart, that the Church exists for the Glory of God, as manifested in the good of all mankind; that, as a member of that Church, it is his duty, as far as in him lies, to promote the good of all men within his reach'. (p. 171).

When the Modern Churchmen's Union petitioned the Upper House of Convocation to admit a large latitude in the interpretation of the Creeds he supported their action in the general interests of religious freedom and comprehensiveness, and generously paid the expenses connected with the petition.

A. W. Hutton of Bow Church

In the days of Morrison's Presidency the chief metropolitan centre of the M.C.U. was Bow Church. Through the kind hospitality of its rector, A. W. Hutton, its historically interesting vestry hall became the meeting place of the M.C.U. There we conferred, protected by the mitre, not of the Bishop of London, but of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davidson, for it is the 'Archiepiscopal peculiar' in the City. Its Rector, the Rev. Arthur Wollaston Hutton, who now became the chairman of the M.C.U. Council, was a striking personality whose clerical career is of singular interest. He came of an ancient clerical stock and used to say he could count four clerical ancestors in the direct male line.

At Oxford he was attracted by the High Church School, and enjoyed the intimate friendship of Canon Liddon, Dr. Bright, and the saintly King, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. In the

Honours School of Theology, Hutton was awarded the only First Class of his year. For a short time he held a curacy at St. Barnabas', Oxford, and then succeeded his father as Rector of Spridlington. But in 1876 he found High Anglicanism no longer tenable; he was received into the Roman Church by Dr. Newman, became a member of his community, and was in due course ordained priest according to the Roman use. Though never a rich man, Hutton gave £1,200 as a single gift to the Roman Catholic oratory elementary schools and lent a thousand more without interest.

However, in seven or eight years the intellectual satisfaction which he looked for under the Roman system proved illusory, and he bade Cardinal Newman a sorrowful farewell. 'We shall always love you,' were the last words which Hutton heard from the lips of Newman.

It is a significant fact that after Hutton's severance from the Roman Church, Cardinal Manning received him into his house to discuss with him various points in Mannings' projected life on which Hutton was at that time engaged. Later, he also became the biographer of Newman. (Both of these biographies by Hutton were published in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica.)

After Hutton's return to the Church of England, he was appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Incumbency of Bow Church of which he remained rector for nearly nine years. As a Modern Churchman he threw himself, heart and soul, into the work which now lay before him there. He persuaded clergymen belonging to different schools of thought to address his weekday congregations. More interesting congregations could not easily be found. They met for a short service and address at one o'clock. They consisted chiefly of young men gathered from the neighbouring offices and warehouses, and usually numbered from 250 to 300. They came for no conventional reasons. They came to pray and hear and most eagerly did they listen to any one who had something worth saying. Sometimes the addresses were given by Nonconformist ministers, or by laymen. On the tercentenary of Milton, Dr. Clifford and Dr. Horton sat side by side with the then Bishop of Ripon (Boyd-Carpenter).

Hutton's musical talent, which had been a link between Newman and himself, now did him great service, and from time to time he organized sacred concerts in Bow Church. He also produced a hymn book, Dent printed it, excellent in its selection of words and music which anticipated Dearmer's *Songs of Praise*. In Hutton's tenure of office, the interior of Christopher Wren's stately church was re-decorated; the old Norman crypt (the Court of the Arches)

was opened to visitors; the present beautiful chime of bells was placed in the church tower; the rule by which the election of Bishops of the Southern Province was confirmed in Bow Church, after a temporary intermission, was restored by the Metropolitan in response to a petition which Hutton presented.

> 'During this time his interest in matters extra-parochial was keen and unflagging. He was at the service of every man who needed help. He never looked on the past with regret: all his references to it were sweet and kindly. Interesting people of all sorts gathered round him in his home at Blackheath, and his family life by itself had a charm and a grace which none who have known it will forget.'

so writes his friend, W. E. Addis.

In his notable volume *Ecclesia Discens* Hutton visualised a Christian Church which learns as well as teaches, and which must always be assimilating new stores of knowledge and experience, in order to supply the intellectual and spiritual needs of evolving humanity. In the Church of Engand, Hutton sees a religious body untrammelled by the traditions of fundamentalist infallibility and readily receptive of fresh truth.

A. W. Hutton's chairmanship of the Council led to the birth of the *Modern Churchman*. Among Dr. Morrison's many services to our society was the foundation of its magazine, the *Liberal Churchman*, a quarterly review published by Williams and Norgate.

When Morrison resigned the presidency of the M.C.U. on account of his appointment to St. Marylebone, he also resigned the editorship of the *Liberal Churchman*.

In 1908 Hutton, as chairman of the Council of the Modern Churchmen's Union, invited me to succeed Dr. Morrison as Editor of the *Liberal Churchman*. Although I was unable at that time to accept the invitation, owing to the financial liabilities involved, it was this invitation combined with our decreasing membership, owing to the lack of a magazine, which induced me to consult our President, Sir Thomas Dyke-Acland, Professor Percy Gardner and Dr. Hastings Rashdall about the project of publication. Our President, Sir Thomas Dyke-Acland, maintained that our needs in the magazine line were being adequately achieved by the newly founded *Hibbert Journal*.

Percy Gardner replied: Dyke-Acland is wrong. What we need for our purpose is a Liberal, Church of England magazine: the *Hibbert Journal* is not that.

Rashdall wrote:

> 'Jan. 6, 1911. I congratulate you on your very noble adventure. One certainly ought to do what one can to support such an enterprise and I

shall be glad to provide something for the first number . . . and will try to write an article.'

The approbation expressed by Rashdall and Gardner decided me to take action and so I published the first number of our new magazine, entitled the *Modern Churchman*, in April 1911, at Knaresborough (Parrs).

On our front page we stated that our aims are those of the Churchmen's Union.

(1) To maintain the right and duty of the Church to restate her belief from time to time as required by the progressive revelation of the Holy Spirit.

(2) To uphold the historic comprehensiveness and corporate life of the Church of England, and her Christion spirit of tolerance in all things non-essential.

(3)To give all support in their power to those who are honestly and loyally endeavouring to vindicate the truths of Christianity by the light of scholarship and research; and while paying due regard to continuity, to work for such changes in the formularies and practices in the Church of England as from time to time are made necessary by the needs and knowledge of the day.

(4) To assert the rights and duties of the laity as constituent members of the Body of Christ.

(5) To encourage friendly relations between the Church of England and all other Christian bodies.

On our cover was inscribed our motto, :

'The old never dies till this happen. Till all the soul of good that was in it have got itself transferred in to the practical New'.—Thomas Carlyle.

Later a new motto was substituted :

'By identifying the new learning with heresy, you make orthodoxy synonymous with ignorance'.—Erasmus.

Our first annual subscription came from the Anglo-Catholic organization whose President, the First Lord Halifax, was our life-long opponent : another primitive subscriber was Dr. Nathan Soderblom, Professor of Comparative Religion in Jena University —later Archbishop of Upsala and Primate of Sweden who became our life-long supporter.

In the closing period of Dyke-Acland's Presidency a great advance was made in the organization of the Modern Churchmen's Union but Dyke-Acland's declining health and geographical isolation precluded his taking any part in it.

Yorkshire Activities

Our Yorkshire Branch (founded in 1908) developed rapidly due to the great Christian Liberalizing influence of Bishop Boyd-Carpenter and to the Liberal sympathies of the Ripon Cathedral dignitaries—appointed by the Bishop—Dean W. H. Fremantle

of Ripon, Archdeacon Danks of Ilkley, Canon Waugh and Dr. Lucius Smith, Suffragan Bishop of Knaresborough were its most prominent members.

It was also due to the extending activities of the Bishop's theological College established by him in Ripon in 1898.[2] As Vice-Principal of this theological college and as an Oxford University Extension Lecturer in Ilkley, I had come into contact with Miss Dora Nussey, the Hon. Secretary of the University Extension Courses. To her and to Professor Kirsopp Lake of Leyden we owed the suggestion of the influence our Modernist movement would secure by holding annual Conferences of Modern Churchmen in well-known educational centres.

The first of these annual conferences was held at Ripon in July, 1914, and the Dean and Chapter granted us the hospitality of Ripon Cathedral where the opening sermons were delivered by Dean Fremantle and Canon Waugh and the final sermon was preached by Dr. E. W. Barnes, F.R.S., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The Ripon Modern Churchmen's Conference was attended by a body of Liberal Anglican Scholars including Professor Percy Gardner and Dr. Rashdall later the third and fourth Presidents of the M.C.U. Among others present were Canon Glazebrook, ex-headmaster of Clifton, Archdeacon Lilley, Canon Hoernle (a medical missionary who had established the first Listerian hospital in Persia), Canons Papillon, John Gamble, Hubert Handley, Shaw-Stewart, Sir John Barran, Dr. Coulton, the Rev. J. M. Thompson, Dean of Divinity, Magdalen College, Oxford, Sir Richard Stapley (our hon. treasurer).

Of our first Conference we wrote at the time :

> 'The feeling that pervaded the Conference was one of invincible hope and prayerful expectation. Its members felt like men 'marching into the dawn'; as those about to witness another great advance in the Reformation of English Christendom. Yet with these high hopes was the solemn realization that only fearless truthfulness, spiritual faith, and self-sacrificing love could cause the movement to prevail; that great aims mean great pains'.

But within a fortnight of the holding of the Ripon Conference the First World War broke out on August 4, 1914, and with what shattering effect on theological Liberalism and on ecclesiastical obscurantism.

Our Second Annual Conference was held at Rugby, 1915, when we made a special expedition to Birmingham and founded a

[2] cf. The Life and Letters of William Boyd-Carpenter by H. D. A. Major (chapter III ((Appendix by Archdeacon R. H. Charles)) published by John Murray 1925, price 16/-).

branch there. Sir Wm. Ashley, Vice-Chancellor of the University, presided at our missionary meeting. Addressing me on the platform at the close of the meeting he said; 'At last you've come out into the open and I am going to join you.' He did so, and became the first chairman of the Birmingham Branch and thereafter he and Lady Ashley never missed attendance at our annual conferences.

'COMING OUT INTO THE OPEN'

'COMING out into the open', Sir William Ashley's phrase, needs explanation. He did not mean by it a 'coming out' from the Christian religion into a non-Christian or anti-Christian Positivism as Professor Percy Gardner discovered in his own personal experience (cf. *Autobiographica*) nor does it demand if one is a clergyman, resigning one's Orders in the Church of England as Mrs. Humphrey Ward's hero, the Rev. Robert Ellesmere, felt compelled to do, nor is 'Coming out' exchanging one's Anglican membership to become a Liberal Protestant Dissenter, for example, a Unitarian or a member of the Society of Friends.

Our Modernist Anglican coming out is really a process of entering more fully into what is involved by membership in the Church of England. It is a progressive realization of its essential character: what is demanded by membership in that Church: the feet of its members are set in a wide room. Love of freedom, love of Divine Life unveiled in Beauty, Art, History are all included in their goodly heritage to be realized, protected, developed and bequeathed to all under the progressive guidance of the Holy Spirit: 'I have many things to say unto you but ye cannot bear them now' (*John* xvi, 12-15). No one can cast its members out from this heritage except themselves: 'They went out from us', writes the author of the First Epistle of St. John (*I John* ii, 19), 'but they were not of us for if they had been of us they would no doubt have continued with us.' They excommunicated themselves. This responsible spiritual freedom is of the essential character of the Church of England and this has become increasingly realized in the course of her history. It was another undisguised advance in the spiritual progress of the Church of England which Sir Wm. Ashley described as our 'coming out into the Open'.

This comprehensive, spiritual freedom of the Church of England is emphatically emphasized by Alfred Fawkes, for many years a Roman priest and later a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England and a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union, in his illuminating volume, *The Genius of the English*

Church, published in 1917 (Murrays) just before Sir Wm. Ashley's speech congratulating us on coming out into the open.

In chapter iv, entitled 'The Church and the Movements', Fawkes wrote:

> 'In a book of exceptional distinction, "John Inglesant", the writer,[1] himself a Nonconformist, puts into the mouth of his hero an appreciation of the English Church which her detractors—who are often of her own household—would do well to take to heart. . . .
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> "The English Church, as established by the law of England, offers the supernatural to all who care to come. It is like the Divine Being Himself, whose sun shines on the evil and on the good. . . . As a Church it is unique: if suffered to drop out of existence, nothing like it can ever take its place." (Vol. II, p. 383.)
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> 'This is what may be called the Romance of the Church of England: it is a romance which is at once romantic and real. Movements are ephemeral, and logic is fallacious; the springs of life lie deeper than they. Such a Church, such a conception of religion, calls for no apology. And, though perhaps it requires the modest grace of a George Herbert to do so without assumption, the English Churchman may echo the delicate and characteristic lines in which he recounts the excellencies of that 'British Church', which his verse pictured and his virtues adorned.' (p. 38.)

'But, dearest mother, (what those misse)
The mean thy praise and glory is,
And long may be.
Blessed be God, whose love it was
To double-moat thee with his grace,
And none but thee.'

PREDECESSORS OF THE MODERN CHURCHMEN'S UNION

THE successful organization of the M.C.U. was only rendered possible in England by the great achievements of the nineteenth century in the fields of scientific knowledge, Biblical criticism combined with practical policies of social and legal reformation.

In these preparatory spheres, Scotland and Ireland must be included. But Germany, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland made in various ways no small preparatory contribution and last, but not least, South Africa and the U.S.A.

But men come before measures and in the English world of the nineteenth century with which we are here concerned comes first and foremost Frederick Denison Maurice. He was really the father of the Modern Churchmen's Movement although Bishop Barnes of Birmingham claimed that primacy for Dr. Edwin Hort. The Bishop based his verdict on the impression created by Hort's

[1] J. Henry Shorthouse, Edgbaston, 1880. (Macmillan.)

profound appendices to his *Hulseans* which were published posthumously.

But it is sounder not to attempt classification of this kind. These two primitive English modernists are more justly regarded as co-partners and contemporaries working in different spheres and in different ways in the same enterprise. The style and scope of these two great teachers are incomparably different.

It is not without significance that Maurice died in Cambridge waiting for Hort to administer to him the last Sacrament.

The prophetic and spiritual protest of Maurice was essentially theological and was directed against the misrepresentation of the Divine Nature and methods of Divine Government proclaimed in the pulpits and pamphlets of religious England. The fundamental problem was : How was it possible to reconcile Divine Love and Divine Wisdom with the horrors of Hell Fire and the Everlasting Torment of multitudes of damned souls? This was an issue all could understand.

The persecution which Maurice endured as a result of his protest consummated by his dismissal from his theological professorship in King's College, London, secured for him a position of leadership in the Liberal Church Movement which Hort achieved by very different means.

Hort was recognized as a great Biblical scholar and philosophical scientist, but Maurice was hailed as 'the prophet' by his adherents and those adherents comprised a body of remarkable men to name but three.

Alfred Tennyson, who in his *In Memoriam* finally published in 1850, bequeathed the profoundest of all poetic appeals to Victorian Christian Faith and Duty. Tennyson besought Maurice to become his son's god-father and hailed him as 'Dear to the man that's dear to God'.

Charles Kingsley, poet, novelist and country parson, author of *Westward Ho* and the *Saints Trajedy* whose influence in undermining the attractions of the Oxford Movement and emotional Evangelicalism dismayed their propagandists.

And last but not least among Maurice's adherents came Thomas Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown's School-Days* (1856) which explains how and why 'Arnold's men' came to dominate the English public schools, and through them the undergraduate world of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In their own way these three adherents of Maurice did more to influence millions of Englishmen in their spiritual and moral relations than all Maurice's exegetical and expository volumes which most educated English readers would have found too diffuse and dull

even for Sunday afternoon reading. The two exceptions are Maurice's *Theological Essays* and his *Kingdom of Christ*.[1]

The intensely theological character of F. D. Maurice's controversial attack is acutely presented by Dean Matthews in his recent arresting lecture entitled *The Religious Philosophy of Dean Mansel*.[2]

Dean Mansel, much the ablest of Maurice's critics, had delivered in his Bampton Lectures, a systematic metaphysical defence of the traditional dogma of his day. This aroused the intense opposition of Maurice and was fiercely attacked by him. Mansel delighted Maurice's critics by his retort in his *Phrontisterion*, 'a fragment of an Aristophanic drama depicting the invasion of Oxford by German theologians and German philosophers.

> 'Presbyters, bend,
> Bishops, attend;
> The Bible's a myth from beginning to end.
> With a bug, bug, bug, and a hum, hum, hum,
> Hither the true Theologians come.'

Professor Basil Willey's *More Nineteenth-Century Studies. A Group of Honest Doubters* (Chatto & Windus, 21/-; 1956) provides delightfully illuminating reading for those interested in the literary religious background of this period.

The contribution made to Victorian English Modernism by Darwin's *Origin of Species* and Professor Huxley's defence of Darwin's theory against the attack of Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford are too well-known to treat here. So also the publication of *Essays and Reviews* and the prosecutions for heresy which followed, and the legal decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in causes ecclesiastical,with the triumphant welcome by the representatives of Church and State alike of the Amended Subscription Act of 1865 so lucidly treated by Dean Stanley in his *Essays in Church and State*, published in 1870.

There ought not to be omitted from this enumeration of valued predecessors of the M.C.U. two metropolitan schoolmasters: Edwin Abbott and W. G. Rushbrooke.

The important results arising from the modern critical comparative study of the Gospels, in contrast to the ancient harmonizing comparative study of them, we owe in this country

[1] These volumes were given to the editorial writer of these notes on his twenty-first birthday (1892) by the Warden of his Theological College, founded by George Agustus Selwyn, the first Bishop of New Zealand, in 1842.

[2] *The Religious Philosophy of Dean Mansel*, by W. R. Matthews, K.C.V.O., D.D., D.Litt. (O.U.P., 1956; 3/6.)

first and foremost to Dr. Edwin Abbott. It was his old pupil, W. G. Rushbrooke, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, who in 1880 produced the sumptuous and invaluable *Synopticon* with this dedication :

TO
EDWIN ABBOTT, D.D.
THE FIRST SUGGESTER OF THIS WORK
WHO TO SUGGESTION ADDED ENCOURAGEMENT
AND TO ENCOURAGEMENT COUNSEL AND ASSISTANCE
THESE PAGES ARE NOW DEDICATED
BY HIS FORMER PUPIL.

Dr. Abbott himself in his eighteen volumes of *Diatessarica* or Gospel studies, with their remarkable combination of originality and exact and curious learning, did much to carry forward the impetus given by the publication of Rushbrooke's *Synopticon.*

The ordinary reader will get most, not from *Diatessarica*, but from Dr. Abbott's delightful trilogy *Philochristus*, *Onesimus*, and *Silanus the Christian*. These three volumes were published at wide intervals of time, but their theme is one. They show in the first volume how a disciple of the Rabbis, in the second a poor debased Phrygian slave, in the third a noble Roman, a student in the lecture-room of Epictetus, could become Christian.

Edwin Abbott's attitude towards the miraculous led to his inhibition : but this neither checked his teaching nor embittered his mind.

If it were not for the anti-traditionalist forces utilized from these various camps, our Modern Churchmen's movement would have secured little of its success. Indeed there would be no English modernists to-day and certainly no modern Churchmen's Union if it were not for these hosts of predecessors in our British history.

THE GIRTON CONFERENCE, 1921

OF our thirty-three annual conferences, the eighth conference held in September 1921 at Girton College, Cambridge, achieved outstanding significance.

The theme of the conference, *Christ and the Creeds*, was no easy one to treat critically and fearlessly. Great care was exercised in the sub-division of the theme and in the selection of the conference readers and speakers. Some influential Churchmen strove to secure the rejection of the theme even after it had been an-

nounced publicly. The most prominent of these objectors was Dr. Hensley Henson, Bishop of Durham, supported by Canon Glazebrook and Professor Percy Gardner, Presidents of the Modern Churchmen's Union.

But the Conference Committee stood firm, and not least the women members.

Here an explanation as to the constitution of the Modern Churchmen's Union is necessary.

This effective and attractive continuity of our Annual Conferences was due not only to the quality and appropriateness of the papers provided for the discussions, but also to the character of the organization which arranges and regulates the conferences. This latter point deserves the attention of Liberal Churchmen even to-day who attach far less importance to organization than do Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals. Yet in these days of democratic-bureaucratic government, organization is becoming more and more important. Certainly without our carefully organized Conference Committee, it is very doubtful whether the Modern Churchmen's Conferences would have carried on their good work so successfully for so many years.

The Conference Committee is in its structure independent and self-elected, co-operating with the M.C.U. Council but not subject to it. This committee reports to the Council the achievement of each annual conference and receives an annual vote of thanks for its services. The committee itself consists of two sections, (*a*) the academic section which arranges for the themes, readers, speakers, and (*b*) the women's section which is responsible for the location and date of the conference, its domestic and social arrangements and, most important, its finance. Both sections ((*a*) and (*b*)) consult together at the meetings of the committee. What our conferences owe to the self-sacrificing competency of our women's section year after year cannot be over-estimated.

Every effort is made to keep the Conference Committee small, inspired by Clemenceau's axiom, 'A great committee is a great evil'. Only competent and self-sacrificing members are elected. We have no place for *ex-officio* adjuncts, but we annually invite the President of the M.C.U. to deliver the Presidential address with which the conference opens.

Another important factor in the success of the annual Modern Churchmen's Conferences has been the publication in full of all the conference papers in a special conference number. This secures not only a becoming publicity for the papers of distinguished scholars, but also an extending sphere of educational influence among those who are not members of our Union.

The following is the list of the contributors to the Girton Conference of 1921. These papers are published in full in the *Modern Churchman*, September 1921 :

The Modern Churchmen's Conference of 1921. The Editor.
Christ and the Creeds. Canon Glazebrook, D.D.
What do we know of Jesus? C. W. Emmet, B.D., and R. H. Lightfoot, M.A.
Christ and the Creeds. Dr. Foakes-Jackson.
Jesus as the Revealer of God. Dr. R. B. Tollinton, Bishop Hunkin, M.A.
The Centrality of Jesus. Bishop E. W. Barnes, Nowell Smith, Headmaster of Sherborne.
Jesus, the Son of God. Dr. Major.
Christ as Logos and Son of God. Dean Rashdall, F.B.A.
Jesus : Human and Divine. Prof. Bethune-Baker, Bishop Parsons, (Hereford).
The Basis of Unity in Faith. Archdeacon T. H. Bindley.
Faith and the Creeds. Professor W. R. Sorley, F.B.A.
Is a Creed Necessary or Desirable? Sir Cyril Norwood.
The Nature of an Ideal Creed. J. C. Hardwick, B.D.
The Uses of a Creed. Prof. P. Gardner, D.Litt., F.B.A., Canon Harold Anson, M.A.
The Need for a New Creed. Douglas White, M.D.
The Present Situation.

It is important to refer to this official publication of the conference papers because a number of inaccurate, misleading and, we fear, in some cases, malignant reports and summaries of the papers were published which promoted and caused the outbursts of indignant protest and condemnation which ensued in press and pulpit and at ecclesiastical meetings.

In our editorial Preface to the official publication of the papers (September 1921) we wrote :

> 'The Conference subject, "Christ and the Creeds" is at present no easy one for students to treat publicly if they wish to speak fearlessly and conscientiously, and yet constructively. That there should be some criticism of the papers was not therefore surprising. It would be idle to pretend that all the views expressed at Girton are in harmony with popular orthodoxy, or even with traditional orthodoxy. All that those who expressed them could hope is that they may be in harmony with progressive orthodoxy.'

In the concluding section of our editorial to the official edition of the conference papers, we presented the practical issue as follows :

> 'Will our Church authorities accept the affirmation, "God was in Christ", with the practical recognition in daily life that "Jesus is Lord" as constituting the irreducible minimum for modernist membership in the Church and in the teaching and ministerial offices? If they will, then a Truce of God can be attained. But the question needs to be answered frankly and without delay, for upon the answer depends the Church's ability :
>
> (*a*) to achieve Reunion at home ;

(*b*) to build up a Christian civilization in India and the East; and
(*c*) to win the love and loyalty of the rising generation of English men and women.'

Of the irresponsible and ignorant protests and denunciations based in many cases upon sensational press reports we need give no account here, but in the case of deliberate protests and denunciations of an official character based upon adequate knowledge brief reference must be made. The most significant of these came from the Roman Catholic Church.

The Tablet, in its issue of August 20, 1921, published, with other criticisms, an article entitled 'The Limit', which opened as follows:

> 'Our very separated brethren, the Anglicans, have been holding a feast of infidelity at Cambridge. One would have thought that Anglican unbelief had reached its high-water mark in Professor J. M. Thompson, the Bishop of Durham (H. H. Henson) and Dean Inge, but . . '

The Roman Bishop of Salford issued a Pastoral Letter to the clergy of his denomination from which we cite the following passages:

> 'Dear Rev. Father—You and the members of your flock will have read with pained surprise in the columns of the Press, during the past few weeks, the deplorable utterances of several learned and influential dignitaries and other ministers of the Anglican Church concerning the Incarnation and Divinity of our Lord. . . .
>
> One's pen almost refuses to transcribe these shocking attacks upon the person and life of our Saviour. . . .
>
> To speak plainly, these and similar pronouncements are blasphemies uttered against our Lord and Saviour, God and Man, and against the whole mystery of His incarnation and His atonement. Such publicly uttered blasphemies must surely be most offensive to Almighty God, and likely to draw down His divine wrath upon a nation in which they are given currency and even to a large extent approval. It is, surely, for us Catholics to endeavour to make some reparation to the Divine Majesty for blasphemies of this nature. For these reasons I hereby direct that in all churches and chapels of the diocese the first Sunday of October (October 2nd), on which is kept the Solemnity of the Feast of the Holy Rosary, be observed this year as a Day of Reparation. . . . I beg the clergy also to exhort the faithful to receive Holy Communion at Mass as a personal act of reparation.'

The Unitarian reaction to the Girton Conference was equally characteristic.

Dr. Jacks invited me to contribute an article to the *Hibbert Journal* indicating wherein the position of Modern Churchmen differed from that of Unitarians: 'there must be an important difference, or they would not be where they are and I should not be where I am'.

I replied in an article, 'Modern Churchmen or Unitarians?'

published in the *Hibbert Journal*, January 1922, and which was honoured by being reprinted in the Jubilee Number of the *Hibbert Journal*, July 1952.

On the whole, the Methodist and Congregational estimates of the endeavours of the Girton Conference were understanding and sympathetic, as also the responsible public pronouncements of our English dignitaries, for example, the Bishop of Southwark, Dr. Burge; Dr. William Temple in the *Challenge*; and pre-eminently that of Professor Headlam in the *Church Quarterly Review* (January 1922), in which he wrote:

> 'It is not necessary that "the Christ that is to be", to use Tennyson's phrase, should appeal to the older generation.'

Headlam points out that the agitation against the Cambridge Conference resulted in a sale of the September issue of the *Modern Churchman* 'probably quite unique for a serious theological work at the present day'.

The most formidable Anglican critic of the Girton Conference was Bishop Gore — not because his criticism was either just or profound but because of his immense personal influence, and his courageous liberalism exemplified in *Lux Mundi*. The surprising weakness in his criticism of Girton is adequately exposed by Dr. Rashdall in his paper entitled *Some Plain Words to Bishop Gore* (p. 469, the *Modern Churchman*, December 1921), in which he demonstrated that the critic of Girton orthodoxy was himself not orthodox judged by the teaching of Thomas Aquinas. The Head of the Dominicans in Oxford published a statement that Rashdall was right in his interpretation of St. Thomas as against Gore.

EDITOR CHARGED WITH HERESY

ANOTHER aftermath of the 1921 Conference was the charge of heresy brought against the Editor of the *Modern Churchman* by a priest of the Southwark Diocese, later Prolocutor of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury.

The substance of the charge made to Bishop Burge (then Bishop of Oxford) was that the Editor of the *Modern Churchman* was 'openly teaching Doctrine concerning the Resurrection which is contrary to the Christian Religion as set forth in the creeds and Holy Scripture' (p. vi).

Dr. Burge submitted the charge for investigation to three Regius Professors in the University of Oxford: Rev. A. C. Headlam, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity; Rev. W. Lock, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity; Rev. E. W. Watson, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

These three Professors advised the Bishop that there were no grounds which required him to proceed further with the charge of heresy.

The accusing priest then appealed to Archbishop Davidson, who replied that he was entirely satisfied with the dismissal of the Charge by the Bishop of Oxford.

The heresy with which I was charged is summed up in the last paragraph of my defence submitted to my judges :

> 'A new historical criticism, a new science, a new philosophy, a new psychology, have caused a general disbelief among modern Christians in this doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh as it has been believed for eighteen hundred years.
>
> What alternatives are open to us as Christian teachers to-day? We can either take our stand with the Muhammadans and the Roman Church, or in response to the modern interpretation of Scripture and the monitions of the modern mind we can frankly acknowledge that we have abandoned a belief which is no longer tenable. It is this which I have done in stating publicly that the form which the doctrine of the resurrection assumes in my mind is the survival of death by a personality which has shed its physical integument for ever. (p. 59.)

This defence is published in full by Dr. Burge, Bishop of Oxford, in his volume, *The Doctrine of the Resurrection* (Mowbrays, Oxford, 1922) and in *A Resurrection of Relics* by H. D. A. Major (Blackwells, Oxford, 1922).

After the charge of heresy had been finally dismissed, the accused was invited by the Primate to dine and stay the night at Lambeth. Nothing could have been kinder than the Primate's reception of the accused. On parting next day, his Grace said : 'I know that I am no scholar and I know that I am no theologian, but I hold an ecclesiastical post of considerable responsibility and should wish to be consulted.' If disarming courtesy is the most precious gift for such a post, there was no doubt in my mind as to the Primate's possession of it in the highest degree.

THE DOCTRINAL REPORT (1922—1938)

THE liberating influences of the Girton Conference were manifold and manifested themselves in the sphere of Prayer Book revision, and the Life and Liberty Movement, but the supreme achievement of the Girton Conference was that it led Archbishop Davidson to appoint in 1922 a Doctrinal Commission to study and report on differences of doctrine within the Church of England with the hope of securing mutual understanding and unity between the contending Church parties.

This Doctrinal Commission sat for sixteen years and published its report, *Doctrine in the Church of England*, in 1938, with a Preface by its Chairman, Archbishop William Temple.

The members of the Commission were of high standing and included certain notable Modernists, e.g. Dean Hastings Rashdall, R. H. Lightfoot, Cyril Emmet, R. B. Tollinton, J. W. Hunkin, E. W. Barnes, J. F. Bethune-Baker, M. G. Glazebrook, R. G. Parsons, T. H. Bindley, W. R. Sorely, Cyril Norwood, Percy Gardner, Nowell Smith and Harold Anson, most of whom died before the Report was completed, presented, considered and received.

The welcome accorded the Doctrinal Report by Dr. Rawlinson in the *Church Assembly News* deserves to be studied. There he wrote :

> 'The Report constitutes, upon any theory of it, an historic landmark in the story of Anglicanism. It must inevitably come to be used as a text-book in theological teaching; and its method of approach, undercutting all the traditional lines of partisan cleavage, must be expected to operate powerfully in the direction of unity. It is a document which can hardly fail to promote not only mutual understanding, but actual synthesis, as between the various traditional "schools" of theological thought in the Anglican Church.' (p. 85.)

The *Church Times* (April 22, 1938) commented on Bishop Rawlinson's pronouncement as follows :

> 'His article would possibly have been better unwritten. It certainly ought not to have been published in the guileless official organ of the Church Assembly.'

Whether the Doctrinal Report is achieving all that Bishop Rawlinson hoped for must be left to the future to decide, but in one sphere, heresy-hunting, it has produced good results. I cite two cases.

(1) In the Modern Churchmen's Conference of 1946, the Rev. F. Moyle, Vicar of Allesley, Coventry, was reported in the Press to have said that the Virgin Birth is a myth.

> 'As a consequence seventeen clerics of the City of Coventry publicly charged him with making a statement which was not compatible with his clerical faith and honour.'

The Bishop of Coventry, Dr. Gorton, intervened, and while dissenting from Mr. Moyle's statement, defended his right to make it and cited the Doctrinal Report as indicating that two theories of the mode of the Incarnation had been held in the Church from earliest times.

(1) The Virgin-birth mode.
(2) The non-Virgin birth mode or, as we should prefer to call it, the Logos Christology. The Bishop added :

> 'We also recognise that both the views are held by members of the

> Church, as of the Commission, who fully accept the reality of our Lord's Incarnation, which is the central truth of the Christian faith.' (p. 82).

(2) In 1947 Dr. E. W. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, in his book, *The Rise of Christianity*, criticised the credibility of various Christian dogmas, including the Virgin Birth. This led the 'two Archbishops', speaking in Convocation, to assert that if they held some of the views expressed in *The Rise of Christianity*, they could no longer retain their offices in the Church. (*Hibbert Journal*, April 1948, p. 198.)

As a consequence, the Editor of the *Hibbert Journal* accepted for publication an article by the Rev. A. H. Birch, M.A., Ph.D., which claimed that the Bishop's resignation be demanded because his conclusions conflict and contradict the 'literal truth of certain dogmas to which the Anglican Church is committed', pre-eminently the Virgin Birth.

The Editor of the *Hibbert Journal* invited the Editor of the *Modern Churchman* to defend the Bishop of Birmingham in the same issue of the *Hibbert Journal* in which he proposed to publish Dr. Birch's attack. My defence of the Bishop was published accordingly in the *Hibbert Journal* of April, 1948.

In it I pointed out how immensely doctrinal liberty had advanced stage by stage in the Church of England in the period from 1850 to 1947, and that as far back as 1903, Dr. Armitage Robinson, then Dean of Westminster, in an open letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote :

> 'If the Bishops were asked to declare that the Incarnation is a cardinal doctrine of the faith, such a statement would be superfluous indeed, but it would be true. But to say that the historical fact of the Virgin Birth is a cardinal doctrine of the faith is to use language which no Synod of Bishops, so far as I am aware, has ever ventured to use.'

This statement was accepted by the Primate without contradiction and without demur.

> In this connection it is worth recalling that the original Nicene Creed did not contain the Virgin Birth clause. Both the Virgin Birth mode of the Incarnation and the non-Virgin Birth mode of the Incarnation go back to the New Testament. This was brought out clearly by Canon Peter Green, an orthodox stalwart, in a contribution to the *Manchester Guardian* in 1946.

Dr. Barnes retained his Bishopric until his death, and the best defence of his moral and spiritual integrity in doing so is set forth by C. E. Raven (formerly Professor of Divinity, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, Gifford Lecturer, etc.) with profound acumen and sympathy in his memorial lecture entitled, *E.W.B., The Man for the Moment* (published in the *Modern Churchman*, March 1955, Vol. xlv).

WITH A GOODLY COMPANY

IT seems desirable to include in this commemorative number of the *Modern Churchman*, not only a summary of what our Union has attempted to achieve, but also some account of the members of the society who co-operated in the endeavour. We have therefore re-published here from the pages of our magazine a number of *In Memoriam* notes which indicate what manner of people they were.

The collection is not as representative as we could wish because no living member could be included in it and a number of the deceased to whose co-operative loyalty we owed much, though faithful, were not famous. But when our Church authorities are told that they may rightly ignore our pleas and plans as being the lucubrations of a body of eccentrics as ignorant of the true character of the Church of England as of its social and political needs, we venture to think that the following *In Memoriams* supply the soundest confutation.

Out of many hundreds of members of the Modern Churchmen's Union we have made the following selection of *In Memoriam* obituaries reproducing in almost all cases the contemporary notices in the 46 volumes of our magazine.

The selection has been a matter of difficulty for the Editor. (1) Some of our greatest benefactors are not included because in their lifetime they did not permit the publication of their services. (2) Many others gave many years of loyal and inconspicuous service to whom our Cause owes much but of whom there is nothing conspicuous to record. Our critics tell us that they have never met a Modernist maid-servant, but we recall the case of one who attended regularly the sermons and addresses of a modernist professor and stated that as she listened to him she had the same feeling that she had when drawing up the blinds and opening the windows in her daily round.

Although the supreme ideal of the Christian Religion is that 'to serve is to reign' yet those who do so are not included in lists of reigning monarchs.

We have quite often heard modernist teachers spoken of as impossible theorists, possessing little practical knowledge of human nature and its needs and of the social and political environment of those the modernists were seeking to educate and liberate.

We feel that perhaps the following collection of compressed biographies will prove illuminating by revealing that they were all members of our Modernist Fellowship.

Another misapprehension we should wish to confute is that our

Anglican Modernists are not devoted Churchmen. On the contrary, it is their devotion to the Church of England as it ought to be, and in its nature really is, and can be realized in our modern world that has kept them within their Church of England membership.

Such a one was Coleridge. They not only felt that personally that 'tis better far for me

> 'To walk together to the kirk,
> with a goodly company!
> To walk together to the kirk,
> And all together pray.'

than to live in isolation in a world bereft of God.

This fellowship in religion is not only essential for the welfare of the individual soul, but also for the moral life and spiritual evolution of the English people and of the human race itself. In short that the basic principles of the Kingdom of God as Jesus Christ taught them are the most effective factor in promoting human unity, freedom and progress. But for Modern Churchmen this demanded the recognition that not only many things taught in the Bible were to-day scientifically and historically incredible, but if believed and acted on must be detrimental: that it is most important that our Church of England should recognize this and reform itself accordingly.

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD
(1851—1920)

THE forces in English life which make for Reason have suffered a notable loss in Mrs. Humhprey Ward. They have done so at a time when they could ill afford it. The word Victorian has been applied to her. As a time-epithet it may pass; though some of her best work was done since the great Queen's death. But the connotation 'out of date' is misplaced in connection with her. Sanity and reasonableness are of no one period. These qualities ran through her work and gave her outlook over life its perspective. She was never a partisan. A Liberal in the best sense of the word, she distrusted Liberal programmes; a feminist, she opposed women's suffrage; an independent thinker in religion, she found herself in later life a convinced supporter of a comprehensive National Church. The criticism of Socialism in *Marcella*, is a key to much of her mind:

> 'Socialism seems to me, like all other interesting things, destined to help something else. Christianity begins with the poor and the division of goods—it becomes the great bulwark of property and the feudal State.

> The Crusaders—they set out to recover the tomb of the Lord; what they did was to increase trade and knowledge. And so with Socialism. It talks of a new order; what it *will* do is to make the old sound.'[1]

This is at once just and acute. But, if it be so, is not even Socialism 'justified of its children'? Strife is the father of all things; and the Many are moments in the One.

There is a curious absence of sympathy with *political* Liberalism in her writings. It was a saying of Mark Pattison's that Liberalism is not always on the side of the Liberal party. Mrs. Ward seems to have been under the impression that it never was so. . . . The picture of the lawyer-politician in the *Theaetetus* pointed as it was in the Athens of Plato, is double-edged in the England of to-day. . . .

Mrs. Ward had an intense conviction in the unity of the human movement. It is unbroken. It does not, and cannot, break away from its past: it grows out of it, and takes up the former stages into itself. To the readers of *The Modern Churchman* the bearing of this conviction on religion, and in particular on the present circumstances of the Church of England—she was, it will be remembered, a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union—will be of special interest. Her view of the policy to be adopted varied: that of *Robert Elsmere* was to go outside, that of *Richard Meynell* was to remain in, the Church. But this change corresponds to what she believed to be a changed situation. And the former book indicates as firm and as genuine a faith as the latter.

> 'God is not wisely trusted when declared unintelligible';
> 'God is for ever Reason: and His Communication, His Revelation, is Reason.'

The sum and substance of religion are here.[2] Her service to religion—and it was one of the first importance—was to have estimated rightly the *moral* values at stake. Whether, or how, this or that event took place is a matter not of moral but of historical interest; but, when belief in a doubtful or unhistorical event is imposed on the conscience, the question becomes moral. The difference between the two books is, therefore, political, or ecclesiastical, not religious.

> 'Twenty years ago—in Elsmere's time—a man who held his views, or mine, could only go. But the distribution of the forces, the lie of the field, is now altogether changed. *I* am not going out till I am turned out; and there will be others with me.'[3]

[1] *Marcella*, Vol. II, p. 114.
[2] *Robert Elsmere*, Vol. II, p. 65.
[3] *Richard Meynell*, p. 13, 95.

'Over whole classes of this nation Christianity is either dying or dead: : and it is only we—and the ideas we represent—which can save it.'

She did not overlook the effort which the attempt to realise these ideals involved; but it was one which, she felt, could not be honourably or safely declined. This feeling found expression in her address to the University Hall Guild on 'New Forms of Christian Education'.

> How many of us drop out before we must! In the midst of the wrestle which now occupies the Christian mind, how many feel themselves unequal, they fall back either upon a traditional religious practice, which is divorced indeed from their intellectual life, but which soothes and shelters; or upon a complete renunciation, so far as it is possible to them, of a Christian language which they feel to be unreal, and Christian conceptions which they have not the energy to reshape. Every year adds to the number of those who thus stand aside, who give up in despair what they hold to be an impossible task.'

To many the alternative is a hard one; and it is not made easier by those who 'have the pre-eminence' in the Churches;—*entre une religion unintelligente et un matérialisme brutal, âme poétique et pure, où serait ta place?* was the cry of Renan: and even among ourselves, in view of certain tendencies in Anglicanism more dominant now than they were then, a great Oxford tutor exhorted his pupils to 'believe in God! never mind what the clergy say'.

> 'How very hard it is to be
> A Christian!'

Yet,

> 'To me, at any rate, the disgust and weariness of Christianity, which is so common among some of the best men and women of the present day, is the most wasteful, the most uncalled-for, surrender of its own wealth that modern life can make. . . . Is not the *real* difficulty that we will not take a certain trouble—that we will not (even for our children's sake, or for the sake of those, perhaps of another class, whose starved education we, more fortunate and more responsible, may long to help from our own), go through a certain drudgery which must be faced if the old Christianity is ever to become in us something once more new and living? . . . The matter is not so complex, not so difficult, as our own timidity or indolence believe. The material which we have is ample enough, if we would only use it to the best of our ability, and, so far as we can, as we are constantly using the available materials for judgment in other departments of our life.'[4]

Things have not gone as quickly as Meynell anticipated—the book was published in 1911—and neither his plan of campaign for liturgical reform nor his ethics of subscription have found general acceptance. With regard, in particular, to the Creeds, while the examples of the Free Churches show that their use in public worship is in no sense a religious necessity, it may seem to us that

[4] *New Forms of Christian Education.*

it fits in with the distinctive genius of the English Church; and that it is to be classed, with the episcopal form of church government, and with the retention of the substance of the old liturgy and ritual, as a traditional usage which it is well to preserve. A recent Hulsean Lecturer argues for their disuse as *standards of subscription*.[5] But the reasonable liberty of interpretation claimed in regard to their historical clauses, and the reasonable disinclination of most of the English bishops to refuse it, are notorious. The Bishop of Zanzibar, who has the courage of his opinions, tells us plainly that 'the Episcopal Synod of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury'—he presumably means the Upper House of Convocation—'no longer guarantees us Christ's teaching, or the four Gospels, or the Creeds.'[6]

As an ecclesiastical politician, Mrs. Ward was far-sighted; she saw in the State control of religion the guarantee of liberty in the Church.[7]

It was this certainty which made her a determined opponent of the Enabling Act of 1919. Her view of the demand for self-government was that of the wisest of English bishops with regard to similar claims put forward more tentatively and in less influential quarters fifty years earlier.

Bishop Thirlwall wrote:

> 'I entirely dissent from "the Liberationists". I have no sympathy with the motives of those who hold it. I believe that the kind of liberty which they desire would be a grinding tyranny, and the worst calamity that could befall the Church.'[8]

Mrs. Ward was very much more than a religionist: literature, art, philanthropy—her exertions on behalf of city children will long be remembered—thought in the largest, and politics in the highest, sense claimed her interest, and are the poorer for her death.

But it would be difficult to find so good a type of that cultivated lay intelligence which, till recent years at least, it has been the distinctive gift of the Church of England to have retained. Had she been born a Roman Catholic, the Church would have had no place for her; had she been a Nonconformist, the sectionalism of Dissent would have jarred upon her taste and been out of keeping with her historical mind. She was the last term of a series. Her grandfather, Dr. Arnold, was not only a great headmaster, but a thinker who, but for his premature death, would have exercised as profound an influence on English religion as he did on

[5] *Christian Freedom*, Rev. F. E. Hutchinson, p. 135.
[6] *The Christ and His Critics*, Preface, p. vii.
[7] *New Forms of Christian Education.*
[8] Charge of 1869, Bishop Thirlwall.

English education: his son, Matthew Arnold, the author of *Literature and Dogma*, 1873, was not only a poet and a man of letters, but a scholar whose services to theological science were of lasting value. Of a later generation, Mrs. Ward's knowledge is greater in certain fields than that of Dr. Arnold; of a naturally graver temperament, her seriousness of purpose is, if not more real, at least more obvious than that of his distinguished son. But she owed much to each, and has carried on the work to which they addressed themselves; there is an apostolical succession between the three.

ALFRED FAWKES

JOHN PERCIVAL, D.D., Hon. LL.D.

Head Master of Clifton College, 1862-78; President of Trinity College, Oxford, 1878-1887; Head Master of Rugby, 1887-1895; Bishop of Hereford, 1895-1918

THE public life of England, both in Church and State, is the poorer by the death of Bishop Percival. We have witnessed in our time few more impressive sights than that stately figure, standing amid none too sympathetic surroundings to plead with quiet eloquence the cause of Christian equality and of social justice; aiming always at building up a new and purer economic and social order on the basis of our common Christian brotherhood—never discouraged by opposition, never disheartened by present failure. For, as he finely said, some years before he passed:

> 'The flowing tide of knowledge and goodwill is irrevocably in the direction of the newer spirit of Christian brotherhood.'

Splendidly did he fulfil Dr. Temple's prophecy, made to the founders of Clifton College in 1862: 'If you appoint Mr. Percival, he will do for your school what Arnold did for Rugby'. And as *Tom Brown's Schooldays* gives us a picture of Arnold's influence so does Sir Henry Newbolt's *The Twymans*[1] tell us what Percival was to Clifton.

He raised the college, in sixteen years of strenuous work, to the front rank of English public schools—an achievement, says *The Times*, 'which by itself would have made him one of the striking figures of his time.'

The insistence on human brotherhood, on the need of moral thoughtfulness, 'which makes a man love Christ instead of being a fanatic, and love truth without being cold and hard', marks the twenty-two years of his episcopate. Percival as a bishop aspired

[1] *The Twymans*, by Sir Henry Newbolt.

to create a new episcopal type, the citizen bishop, the earnest layman-bishop, or, to use an *oxymoron*, the unepiscopal bishop. He was ever asking himself, and insistently pressing on all who would listen, the question, what ought our Christianity to be inspiring or moving us to do amidst all the complex relationships, the glaring inequalities, and the undeserved hardships of our social life.

When dealing with ecclesiastical pretensions he never hedged. Thus, to the clergy who protested that they would not obey the law legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister (which he had himself opposed in the House of Lords), he said :

> 'It would be a grave and perilous state of things, if we encourage the growth of what can only be called an ecclesiastical and clerical conscience, fundamentally at variance with the instructed lay conscience of the Church of England. . . . It is, in fact, an attempt to revert to clerical government, as over-riding Parliamentary government in affairs affecting the Established Church . . . perfectly intelligible as the policy of the sacerdotalist party in the Church, which has always hankered after clerical government and paramount clerical authority. . . . It is this claim of clericalism which has led democracies to say that clericalism is the enemy.

The Bishop's relations with his Nonconformist fellow-Christians were such that he was sometimes called—in scorn, or again in grateful recognition—'the Dissenter's Bishop.' Everyone knows—thanks to the deliberate advertisement given to it in the Upper House of Convocation by the Bishop of Winchester—how, on the occasion of the Coronation of our present Sovereign in July, 1911, the Bishop carried out his long cherished purpose of drawing together Christians of different denominations in united communion at Hereford Cathedral. He had often said, of those twenty-one Lambeth Resolutions which deal with 'Reunion and Intercommunion', that

> 'such admirable sentiments from such an authoritative source must of necessity remain a dead letter, if we simply treat them as pious opinions, and take no steps to give them practical effect.'

This action of the Bishop is quite certainly a beginning and not an end. It must soon become customary for our clergy on appropriate occasions to invite their neighbours who have the status of communicants in their own denominations to join in our service of Holy Communion.

In his Primary Visitation Charge—as early 1898 (the foundation year of the Modern Churchmen's Union), seven years before the 'Declaration on Biblical Criticism'—he writes thus of the Higher Criticism :

> 'Hitherto the use of this new instrument has been mainly confined in our Church to the books of the Old Testament, but it is sure to go

forward, unhasting, unresting. Thoughtful students in this and the next generation will be moved to extend the application of these scientific methods, and the result may possibly be a considerable modification of the Orthodox Churchman's views on some articles of his traditional Creed.'

In 1902 he ordained a Cambridge First-class man, able and earnestly religious (since killed in the war), who wished the bishop to know beforehand that he disbelieved in the Virgin Birth of our Lord.

Dr. Percival was a firm supporter of the Modern Churchmen's Union and all it stands for. He preached at its corporate communion, and said, on a public platform in London, that he wished there were a branch of it in every town in England.

A. T. Bannister

ROBERT HENRY CHARLES

(1855—1931), Vice-President of the Modern Churchmen's Union

BY the death of Archdeacon R. H. Charles, D.D., F.B.A., on January 30, the Church of England lost one of her foremost scholars, although happily not the fruit of his labours, which is a κτημα ἐς ἀεί.

Sprung from the country of Johannes Scotus Erigena, he began his brilliant academic career at Queen's College, Belfast, and passed thence to Trinity College, Dublin. Ordained deacon in 1883, he served his first curacy in Whitechapel. Weak health compelled him to give up strenuous parochial life in 1889, but this did not prevent him thereafter from devoting himself to the no less strenuous life of the scholar-teacher.

With a foresight as judicious as that of Max Müller, he selected at the very outset of his career the subject of his life's research. That subject was Jewish and Christian eschatology—the doctrine of the last things—Death, Hades, Resurrection, Judgment, Hell, Heaven. His reason for this selection was not, as was Max Müller's selection of Sanskrit, purely academic ambition: it was primarily the promotion of moral and religious truth.

Christian doctrine in Dr. Charles' youth was disfigured by much repulsive and even immoral eschatological teaching which vilified the Divine Being, antagonized the nobler instincts of human nature, and cast a horrid 'Tophet-glare' on man's life and destiny. Christian teachers, like F. D. Maurice and his disciples, had been bitterly attacked in ecclesiastical circles—Catholic and

Evangelical—for their efforts to reform this teaching. Their arguments in criticism of it were almost entirely moral and spiritual: they denounced it as blasphemous, as demoralizing, as grotesque, as incredible, as fundamentally un-Christian. R. H. Charles adopted another line of attack. He resolved to investigate the sources of this eschatology. His apologetic motto might have been: 'I do not denounce, I explain'.

This undertaking involved, if it were to be done thoroughly, and thoroughly he resolved to do it, immense labour. The sources to be investigated were mainly preserved in the Jewish apocryphal and pseud-epigraphical literature, and demanded for their thorough critical investigation a vast amount of original research and no little linguistic knowledge, for this literature had been preserved in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Slavonic tongues. Very little was known of the original documents by British scholars, and Charles had to collect, collate, translate, analyse, interpret, and edit his texts before he could present his history of the origin and development of eschatological doctrine. It proved to be a task of forty years. His first text, *The Book of Enoch*, translated from the Ethiopic, appeared in 1893. As the years went by there followed *The Book of Jubilees*, *The Secrets of Enoch*, *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, *The Assumption of Moses*, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, *The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, and a number of lesser texts. The series concluded in 1929 with his *Critical Commentary on Daniel*. In 1913 there appeared a noble edition, in two great volumes, of the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by Charles with the co-operation of other scholars.

The general conclusions derived from this work of research were set forth in two volumes. (1) *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity*. This volume consists of lectures delivered on the Jowett Foundation in 1898, published in 1899. The second edition revised and enlarged was published in 1913. It is the standard work on this subject. (2) *Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments*. This was published in the Home University Library in July, 1914. It is a wonderful piece of popular exposition by a great scholar, and is worth its weight in gold. To appreciate it fully the ordinary reader should peruse it in conjunction with Dr. Edwyn Bevan's delightful volume, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*. Charles in his volume deals mainly with the literature and ideas, Bevan with the history of the period.

The main task of Charles' life was now concluded, and we

owe much to him for its accomplishment. He made plain what had formerly not been realized, the fundamental distinctions between Prophecy and Apocalypse. He exhibited clearly the conditions which produced apocalypse and determined its development, and he unveiled and separated the true and permanent elements in it from the false and futile. Thus by means of literary and historical criticism he relieved Christian eschatology from a terrible burden of grotesque horrors, and at the same time brought out clearly the real value of the contribution made to the Jewish and Christian faith by the apocalyptic mystics and seers.

Though this undertaking entailed much painstaking toil, it must not be supposed that it depressed the toiler. He was so interested in his work as hardly to feel fatigue. His research was ever with him, about his path and about his bed: like the loyal student of the Deuteronomic Law, he meditated on it when he sat down and when he rose up, and as he walked by the way. That was the secret of his successful perseverance. In the preface to his *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, he wrote:

> 'The labour involved has been very great, at times indeed oppressive, but it has not been without its compensations; for the toil has been frequently lightened by the joys of discovery, and the task of research has been often one of sheer delight. The pleasures of fox-hunting are not to be compared with those of the student in full quest of some truth, some new fact showing itself for the first time within his intellectual horizon.'

In that confession the spirit of the Irishman and of the sportsman as well as of the true scholar is disclosed.

But while he carried on the work of the scholar, he did not neglect that of the preacher. He could not fail to make his sermons educative; he was most careful that they should be so, but in addition they enshrined a note of inspiration and moral and spiritual fervour. He was a zealot for righteousness and spiritual religion as well as for intellectual truth. A number of volumes of his pulpit discourses are published. The two which most truly represent this spirit are *The Adventure into the Unknown* (1923) and *The Resurrection Life* (1919). *Gambling and Betting* (1925), *Divorce and Nullity* (1927), *The Teaching of the New Testament on Divorce* (1923), were vigorous deliverances on behalf of morality. His Warburton Lectures on *The Decalogue* exhibit his ability in treating Biblical critical problems in sermons. He possessed that 'blessed clearness' which the pupils of 'the judicious' Hooker so much valued in their teacher.

Archdeacon Charles was an eager and unflinching promoter of the Modernist cause. His advocacy was marked by a precious

combination of sanity and courage. He began life as an Evangelical Protestant, but early chose the ascending road to which an unfettered love of truth directed him.

His Modernism is visible enough in many of his writings, but the clearest and most compact exposition of it is to be found in Chapter VI of *Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments*. The chapter is headed, 'Reinterpretation and Comprehension'. There one sees clearly how his Modernism grew naturally out of his studies. The Rabbis had a saying, 'No clodhopper is a sin-fearer', and certainly no thoughtless person will be a Modernist in his religion: he will be either an obscurantist or an agnostic. The chapter opens with the statement:

> 'One of the strongest impressions experienced by the reader who studies in their historical order the Canonical and non-Canonical Books of the Old Testament is the consciousness of the continuous, and in most instances the progressive reinterpretation of traditional beliefs and symbols. This holds true alike of the most sacred and fundamental conceptions of Judaism as of its less essential elements.' . . . As we study it we see . . . 'every conception . . . undergoing development or reinterpretation. Whole histories centre round such conceptions as soul, spirit, Sheol, Paradise, the Messianic Kingdom, the Messiah, the Resurrection. Where the spiritual life was active no religious conception could remain unaltered. If it belonged characteristically to an earlier period of development, it had either to be discarded or transformed. If it was capable of growth, it grew: otherwise it proved a stumbling block to the faithful and an obstacle to spiritual progress.'

He shows how the earlier and lower stages of Israel's faith had to be interpreted at a later stage in conformity with the new and higher theology. He adds:

> 'It is not possible to see how otherwise continuous spiritual progress could have been maintained in Judaism. And what is true of Judaism is true of all Churches. No Church which makes this right of reinterpretation impossible can continue to be a spiritual leader of mankind. Spiritual and intellectual growth without it is impossible, and so far as the leaders of a Church succeed in making such growth impossible, so far they succeed in limiting its membership to the mere traditionalist and the obscurantist, in short, to the intellectual and moral minors of the race. This right of reinterpretation was exercised by every prophet, seer, and great teacher from the Exile onwards: it was naturally exercised in an unparalleled degree by our Lord in dealing with the Law, and in a very drastic fashion by S. Paul, and in some measure by every writer of the New Testament.'

He next points out that the early Church of the New Testament excluded from her membership those guilty of serious moral offences—'those who sinned against the divine life in the individual and in the Church'. Those, however, who were in doubt or intellectual error in regard to Christian doctrine were not excluded. He writes:

'Thus St. Paul did not exclude from the Christian Church those who denied the Resurrection, but treated them as persons to be reasoned with and instructed.'

The later Church changed all this. Hence:

'Christianity came to be identified not firstly and chiefly with a spiritual life in Christ, but firstly and chiefly with the acceptance of certain intellectual beliefs about Christ that were maintained alike to be infallible and unalterable.

The result of this policy, he declares, has been such

'That many of the prophets could only work outside the official Church, and among them may be reckoned not merely actual Christian teachers, but also great students of science, whose discoveries in search of truth have revolutionized our modern theology.'

The Archdeacon's conclusion is clear and forcible, and our English Church authorities are slowly but surely advancing towards its acceptance.

'The Church, which declares its formularies to be incapable of reinterpretation and which maintains them to be unalterable, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, cannot hope ultimately to escape the same end that befell that great empire.'

In the second half of the chapter, he deals with the comprehensive character of a national 'established Church'. He points out that as a consequence the Jewish Established Church

'Attained a degree of comprehensiveness that the entire Christian Church, Anglican and Protestant, Greek and Roman combined, cannot rival . . . Thus Sadducee and Pharisee, Herodian and Essene worshipped in the Temple, bound together not by uniformity of intellectual belief, but by unity of spirit in the worship of the same God . . . Within that ancient Church intellectual and spiritual growth were possible in a degree unexampled in subsequent times, or in any Church. Such a Church was well fitted to be the Mother of Christianity.'

And then this loyal and devoted son of the Church of England beholds a vision of his own Church emulating this fruitful comprehensiveness

'Now with the history of such a great Church in the past before us, are we not encouraged to look forward to the time when the National Church of England will in one respect—namely, its comprehensiveness—resemble the Jewish Church of that period, and become the spiritual mother of all spiritually-minded Englishmen—all who worship God as revealed by Christ and His disciples. Spiritual unity, not intellectual conformity, would be the essential mark of such a Church.

'Such a hope cannot be simply set aside as visionary and ideal, for a Church still more comprehensive did exist—an established Church, and on the roll of its members the Founder of Christianity and all His apostles without exception. Judaism, then, was a comprehensive Church, but *it was only comprehensive so long as it was established.** When it ceased to be

* Italics are mine.—H.D.A.M.

> an established Church . . . the liberty of interpretation in a spiritual and progressive sense was suppressed . . . and so became in its essentials a mere sect. This history of the past is instructive. The severance of Church and State was disastrous to Judaism, and what was true then is no less true now. I cannot here set forth how necessary in a Christian nation, Church and State are to each other, and how in reality they represent only two sides of one and the same Christian Society.
>
> 'To the thoughtful students of the past and of the present it is not disestablishment, but re-establishment of national Churches that is now necessary, if the Church and State of the various Christian nations would each achieve their highest.'

We have ventured to cite his Modernist convictions with some fulness. They may not be popular in ecclesiastical circles to-day. That is a secondary consideration. The real question is whether they are sound. We could wish of course that they were attractive to traditionalists and obscurantists and sectarians, but even if all his fellow-Churchmen had been opposed to them their exponent would not have surrendered them whilst he believed them to be true, nor would he have despaired of their final triumph. On his first meeting with the writer of this notice nearly thirty years ago, he said in unforgettable words :

> 'To be but one and to be on the side of God, is to be in the majority.'

The quality of his scholarship won for him a European reputation. Learned bodies recognized his abilities. Professor of Biblical Greek in Trinity College, Dublin, he became a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy, and appointed by the Crown to a Canon's stall in Westminster Abbey. His life was enriched by many friendships : what he gained by his marriage to one who entered into all his interests, intellectual, social, and spiritual, may not be written.

He was a benefactor of Ripon Hall to which he bequeathed his library, a bust of John Milton and furniture which he himself had carved and inscribed. The Hall also possesses a striking portrait of Charles bequeathed by his nephew Sir Allen Havelock Charles, Bt.

H.D.A.M.

SIR ARNOLD WILSON

M.P., K.C.I.E., C.M.G., G.S.I., D.S.O. (1884—1940)

WITH the passing from us of Sir Arnold Wilson the British Empire has lost a heroic soldier, the House of Commons a very able and independent member, and the Modern Churchmen's Movement an inspiring and vigorous leader.

The son of that great Liberal Churchman, Canon J. M. Wilson : a pupil of Clifton College, whose first three Headmasters —Percival, J. M. Wilson and Glazebrook—were devoted to the

Liberal Christian tradition inherited from Thomas Arnold and Frederick Temple of Rugby, it was not surprising that Arnold Wilson should belong to that school of English Churchmanship and that his life as a soldier, political officer and imperial administrator should have deepened his conviction of the need for this kind of Christian religion in our modern world. Brought up in the best English tradition, he loved England, English folk, English ways and English institutions. The Church of England, so closely wedded to the State, the House of Commons opening its sessions with prayer, and so sensitive in times of crisis to the appeal of Christian ideals, seemed to him to present a comprehensive, practical pattern of religious and civic life to which an Englishman could devote himself with unflinching loyalty and disciplined enthusiasm. He was in these respects an Englishman of the Shakespearean, Miltonic and Tennysonian type rather than the product of post-war Communism, pacifism and pessimism. He was too robust, too outspoken, too individualist, too scrupulously honourable to be popular in his political and commercial environment. Democracy, save in so far as it stood for individual freedom and human brotherhood, made little appeal to him. It seemed to him that it lacked courage, the power of decisive action, the perception to see things as they really are, and to initiate and implement the exacting but needful policies. He saw democracy as essentially escapist, always out for soft options, and the avoidance of crucial decisions. To those at ease in Zion democracy made its appeal, but not to one of his heroic, strenuous, practical temper. It is not therefore surprising that he was attracted in their earlier stages by Fascism and Nazism. *Punch* stressed this in its doggerel caricature of him as a back bench member of the House of Commons :

'To Mesopotamia
He is no stranger
Of Mussolini and Hitler
No belittler.'

But the evil side of these movements as they developed led him to throw himself whole-heartedly into the Allied fight against them at an age when most men would feel exempt from the obligation of military service, especially as a gunner in the R.A.F. He saw however much more clearly than some of the easy-going optimists who were responsible for the conduct of affairs that a very grim struggle confronted the British Empire, and that all the British Empire stands for could only be preserved at the cost of innumerable personal sacrifices. On entering the Air Force he wrote to his friends :

'I go in the spirit of *I Maccabees* iii, 59: "For it is better for us to die in battle than to look upon the evils of our nation and the holy place." '

Although so devoted to practical activities, he possessed a vigorous mental life. He had a prodigious memory and was a great reader of the Bible and of the Latin and English classics and a devourer of blue books. As a writer he possessed a clear, straightforward style and was the author of a number of stimulating and useful works: *Loyalties* is the standard history of the Mesopotamian campaign and administration for 1914-1920; *Walks and Talks* (originally contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* when he was Editor of that journal) is a delightful picture of English country conditions and outlook in Hertfordshire in the thirties of the present century; *Burial Reform and Funeral Costs* (written in conjunction with Professor Hermann Levy) exhibits his great command of detail and active interest in practical social reform; *Gallantry*, his latest volume, the record of British deeds of daring, constitutes an appropriate pendant to a most noble and heroic life.

We had looked forward to hearing him on 'The Christian Spirit in English Public Life' at the Modern Churchmen's Conference in Oxford in September, 1940, although when accepting our invitation to read the paper he remarked on the insecurity of the tenure of life in the service in which he was engaged.

H.D.A.M.

PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER
(1846—1937)

IN 1915 Professor Percy Gardner (1846-1937), D.Litt., LL.D., F.S.A., F.B.A., succeeded Thomas Dyke-Acland as third President of the M.C.U. His academic career was one of great distinction. He took First Classes both in the Classical Tripos and also in the Moral Sciences Tripos, and was elected a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. He spent some sixteen years on the staff of the British Museum and founded with others the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, which he edited for many years. He held the Disney Professorship of Archaeology at Cambridge, and later succeeded Sir William Ramsay as Professor of Classical Archaeology at Oxford. Here he did much to promote the study of Greek Art and Archaeology and to secure their inclusion in the *Literae Humaniores*. He published a number of books on Greek numismatics in this country. He was elected Corresponding Member of the Academies of Sciences, Prussia and Göttingen

and of the French Institute. But he had more profound interests than classical art and archaeology : these were religion and ethics.

He had been brought up in a devout Evangelical home, described with charming simplicity in his *Autobiographica* (1934), but his studies in the Moral Sciences Tripos led him far away from traditional Christianity. He told the present writer, some years ago, that he believed that he was the only living man who had read every word of Auguste Comte's exposition of his Positivist Philosophy. Positivism, however, was unable to provide what Gardner's spiritual nature demanded. As the result, not simply of his studies, but of his own inner experience, he was becoming increasingly convinced that not only does man's social and political welfare demand religion, but that it is also a necessity of his personal life. He became equally convinced that the highest form of religion is alone to be found in evolutional, not static, Christianity.

At this time he was philosophically much influenced by William James and the French Modernists, and so became a Pragmatist or Activist. In this respect he stood apart from his two great successors in the Presidentship of the M.C.U., Dean Rashdall and Dean Inge.

One of his most intimate friends was Baron Friedrich von Hügel, whose religious mysticism he shared. Yet with his religious mysticism and inflexible morality there went a perfectly free and open mind which was convinced of the need for scientific criticism as an important means of liberating mankind from superstition and error. His drastic application of historical and literary criticism in his fine book *Exploratio Evangelica*, a study of Christian origins, led those who did not really understand him to think of him as an unbeliever, though of a very unusual type. I remember a younger member of the University saying to me : 'There is no one in Oxford who prays more and believes less than Percy Gardner.'

Canon Sanday, however, recognized the great contribution to Christian scholarship made by Gardner's volume, and in the *Journal of Theological Studies* welcomed it in a long review entitled *An Eirenicon from Culture*. From this time onwards a succession of religious and ethical works proceeded from *Gardner's pen*. Of these perhaps the most valuable are *The Growth of Christianity* (1907) (Bishop Winnington-Ingram refused to permit Gardner to deliver these lectures in Bow Church at mid-day services for business men.), *The Religious Experience of St. Paul* (1911), and *The Ephesian Gospel* (1915). Perhaps some of our readers may be more interested in his *Modernism in*

the English Church (1926). He contributed many much appreciated articles to the Modern Churchman.

He was for many years a member of the Vestry of St. Andrew's, North Oxford, and at the same time a generous contributor to the Salvation Army, to which by his will he left £200 as well as the same amount to Ripon Hall, of which he had been a valued Governor since 1919.

Like Dr. Samuel Johnson, he did not appreciate jocularity, either in clergymen or in dons. He complained of a striking episcopal portrait that it was 'too lively'. Life for him was dominantly a matter of duty to be done, and done without haste and without rest.

Although Gardner had lectured in thirteen American Universities, he was not attracted by American culture. He did not believe in democracy nor in feminism. He was a Conservative in politics, a Puritan in morals, and in his manner a don of the old type. To a student who excused himself for coming in late to his lecture saying that his watch had gone slow Gardner commented: 'Have you ever observed that watches take after their owners?'

H.D.A.M.

HASTINGS RASHDALL
(1858—1924)

THE death of the Very Reverend Hastings Rashdall, D.D. D.Litt., D.C.L., LL.D., F.B.A., Dean of Carlisle and President of the Modern Churchmen's Union, deprives the cause of English theological and ecclesiastical Liberalism of its ablest champion. It also deprives Anglican Liberalism of its most consistent, all round educationist but no one could have been more grateful to his own educationists than he who later was to become the teacher of so many. He began well at Harrow where he became head boy under Dr. Montagu Butler, who on being asked 'Whom he considered his most distinguished pupil' replied, 'It is not easy to say, but if you press me, I think—Rashdall.' Dr. Butler wrote in 1911: 'Hastings Rashdall and Charles Gore are our most learned and original theologians' (cited from Matheson's Life of Rashdall, p. 26).

In his presidency of the Modern Churchmen's Union Rashdall was succeeded by Dean Inge who referred to him thus in his Presidential Address:

> 'I must take leave to say a few words, in *piam memoriam*, about my dear old friend the late Dean of Carlisle, who, if he had been spared to

us, would be addressing you as your President this evening.

Dr. Rashdall was one of the most learned men and one of the deepest thinkers in the Church of England. The range of his interests was astonishing. As a medievalist, he was the author of a great history of the Universities of the Middle Ages, which is not likely to be superseded. As a student of the history of dogma, he wrote a very fine survey of the doctrine of the Atonement. As a moral philosopher his work was in the first rank. Personally, I have sometimes wished that he had concentrated on a detailed study of Christian ethics; I believe he could have done this work better than anyone else, at least in this country. His sermons and addresses, though not exactly eloquent, were full of valuable matter, better perhaps to read and read again than to listen to. In conversation he was a keen but always good-tempered controversialist, with a Socratic love of disputation; his philosophy-pupils at Oxford found him a most stimulating teacher. His generosity and genuine goodness were known to all his friends. Oxford was the loser by not making him a professor, a position which he would have liked. The fact is that he had about equal claims to hold a chair of theology or of philosophy or of medieval history; his versatility may have stood in his way. He will long be remembered as one of the most distinguished leaders of the Anglican Church in our time, and we of the Churchmen's Union shall always be proud of his all too short tenure of the office of President.'

What his college thought of Rashdall can be read on the tablet erected to his memory in the cloisters of New College:

In Memory of
HASTINGS RASHDALL, D.D., F.B.A.
1858—1924
Scholar, Fellow, and Tutor
and Honorary Fellow,
of New College
and Dean of Carlisle.
Historian, Philosopher, Theologian.
In Thought fearless,
In Learning various and profound,
Generous, Affectionate, Rich in humour,
In his Books, in his Teaching,
In his Public Duties,
He brought to the Service of his Age
A rare passion
for Virtue, Knowledge, and Truth.

WILLIAM RALPH INGE, D.D., F.B.A., K.C.V.O.

1860—1954

ON February 26 in his ninety-fourth year William Ralph Inge passed away. In the history of the English Church during the first half of the twentieth century no English ecclesiastic was more widely known or more widely read by the English-speaking public. His readers ranged from University Professors down to the man in the street, from students of Plotinus down to adherents of the *Evening Standard.*

The son of an Oxford don, Provost of Worcester College (who was offered an English bishopric by the early post and sent off his rejection of it before breakfast), W. R. Inge was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. His academic career was amazingly brilliant. He once said: 'In examination lists I have always found my name where I wished it to be.'

After a mastership at Eton he was elected a Fellow of his college in 1886, but in 1889 resigned it for a Fellowship of Hertford College, Oxford. This he held till 1904. At Hertford, Hastings Rashdall and Inge were contemporaries and as another Fellow of Hertford remarked: 'To hear those two Fellows arguing was an unforgettable experience.'

Inge's parents were Anglo Catholics; a portrait of his father hangs in Pusey House, Oxford, as one of its founders, and Inge wrote in his diary: 'My mother never really forgave me for not being an Anglo-Catholic' (p. 34).

Undoubtedly Rashdall's influence at Hertford played a large part in converting Inge to ecclesiastical Liberalism, but an even more powerful liberating influence originated in his studies of Christian Mysticism. These studies bore fruit in his profoundly influential Bampton Lectures, *Christian Mysticism*, delivered in 1899. This volume secured an immediate and world-wide influence among readers of the English tongue.

When in 1901 as a New Zealand cleric I read a paper to my fellow-clergy on the knowledge of God as presented in the First Epistle of St. John one of my audience said: 'You have been reading Inge' (he pronounced the name to rhyme with hinge, as I believe also did Bernard Shaw at that period), I could only confess that I had never heard of him.

In 1907 Inge returned to Cambridge as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Jesus College. In 1911 Asquith, then Prime Minister, offered him the Deanery of St. Paul's. It is no secret that Davidson, then Primate, desired the appointment of a Canon of Canterbury although Inge had become a relation of the Archbishop by his marriage in 1905 with the daughter of Archdeacon Spooner of Maidstone. What his wife's gifts and graces did for Inge can only be described by her husband. She was a wonderful source of happiness and strength, but she failed to make him a favourite with the Primate. His gravity and deafness rendered him socially inaccessible.

From the very outset of his Deanery at St. Paul's Inge became a notable personality in our national life. The insight and incisiveness of his sermons, their fearlessness and frankness, made the Press eager to report him. He never flinched at the critical moment

and the stern things he had to say in the dark days of the First World War demanded publicity. The Press nicknamed him the Gloomy Dean and the literary world ranked him as a satirist with Dean Swift.

In addition to his preaching his literary activity was amazing. Book succeeded book and all of them of educational value. Some of them, like his *Philosophy of Plotinus* (two volumes, 1918) will survive as classics and others like *Outspoken Essays* (two vols., 1919 and 1922) will demand to be read by English historians writing of the first quarter of the twentieth century.

As a Christian apologist addressing modern educated men he was unrivalled and not least because he was so readable. Unlike many Christian apologists he could be read with enjoyment, but he never sacrificed Christian truth to secure popularity. Neither a High Churchman nor a Low Churchman, he was unflinchingly loyal to the great Christian values which had to be bought with a price—incessant opposition to scepticism and superstition.

He is best described as a Christian Platonist, but of the English type. He was a Cambridge Platonist and his own University, not Athens, was his spiritual home. In fact he was intensely English as his essay on England testifies and was extraordinarily little influenced by modern Continental writers. But modern scientific research, biological and astronomical, psychological and eugenic, possessed his intense interest both in the field of essential knowledge and its enemy, vulgar and dangerous perversion. It was this practical devotion to truth, ancient and modern, which led him to value the Modern Churchmen's Union and he succeeded his 'old friend' Hastings Rashdall as President. Rashdall himself had succeeded Percy Gardner, Professor of Classical Archaeology—and it would be hard to find a more remarkable trio wholeheartedly devoted to the Modern Churchmen's Union and yet each one of them an authority in a sphere pre-eminently his own.

Inge held his presidency for ten years and during all that period never missed its annual Conferences and his Presidential addresses, prepared with meticulous care, were published year by year in the *Modern Churchman*.

His latest volume, the *Diary of a Dean*, published in 1949 and reviewed in the *Modern Churchman* of March, 1950 (p. 47), emphasized his continued interest in our Cause. We cite the following characteristic utterances from it:

> *May* 7, 1922. 'I preached at St. Peter's in the East, under the auspices of the Modern Churchmen's Union. The church was not nearly large enough for the crowds who came to hear me. I emphasized the historical

character of our religion and its foundation in the Person of Christ. I wished to dissociate myself from continental Modernists like Loisy, who think that the historical Jesus was only "a peasant of limited intelligence"' (p. 76).

'I had not very satisfactory talks with Herbert [Henson]. He is "unstable as water". He blames and dislikes the Modern Churchmen's Union. Like Lord Melbourne he says, "Why can't they let it alone?" Liberalism in theology will not get much more help from Herbert Dunelm' (p. 70).

February 5, 1934. 'Dining with the Brotherhood I found that Herbert Henson was annoyed with me for approving of the invitation to a Unitarian to preach in Liverpool Cathedral. I have never read better sermons than those of J. H. Thom, a Unitarian divine, and Martineau's books are of great apologetic value. I have never found much to differ from in my talks with Jacks, though he goes too far, in my opinion, with Loisy about the historical Christ. Surely there are many subjects on which an Anglican congregation might profit by sitting under a devout and thoughtful Unitarian, or a Quaker. I am all in favour of trying to close schisms, if it can be done without sacrifice of principle. I think an earlier Henson would have agreed with me' (p. 177).

Referring to Lippmann's *Preface to Morals*:

January 15, 1931. '. . . The main argument of Lippmann's book is that "disinterestedness" is the vital part of higher religion. Aldous Huxley has since said the same, calling it, less happily, non-attachment. When I was ordained deacon by the saintly Bishop King of Lincoln the only thing that the Bishop said to me was "Be disinterested; that is what really matters'. Perhaps no wiser cousel could be given to a young man who might be suspected of being ambitious. I have always remembered it; though I have taken occasion to say, "Don't fancy yourself disinterested when you are only uninterested, and don't fancy yourself attracted by God when you are only repelled by man"' (p. 155).

A Modern Churchman, indeed!

H.D.A.M.

SIR CYRIL NORWOOD
(1875—1956)

SIR Cyril Norwood passed away at his home, Iwerne Minster, Dorset, on March 13, 1956. *The Times*, in its notice of his death extending to over a column, emphasized his great contribution to English education in a transitional period fraught with great national problems.

With his educational policy we are in profound agreement, but it is not to that we wish to direct attention in our memorial notice: it is to his personal influence as a fellow-member of the Church of England.

A scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, an outstanding cricketer, he secured his First in Mods., and in Greats; he passed out top of the Civil Service competitive examinations and became

an Admiralty clerk. He soon exchanged this routine occupation for a classical mastership in Leeds Grammar School. After five years there he became head of Bristol Grammar School. Here his educational qualities were strikingly manifest. In 1920 he was elected Master of Marlborough and placed Marlborough amongst the first half dozen of the leading public schools. Next he became Headmaster of Harrow, at that time sorely in need of creative leadership.

In 1934, having accomplished, not without opposition, his task at Harrow, he was elected Head of his old college, from the Presidentship of which he retired in 1946.

But Norwood in the educational world of England was much more than an extraordinarily successful headmaster. He was a national interpreter of English educational ideals and of what ought to be their methods of achievement and development. He acquired this national experience not only by his school mastering, but also from his varied experiences gained by his membership of a number of very influential educational organizations created to face and if possible to solve educational problems produced by our two great world wars. His published contributions in this field are set forth pre-eminently in the *Norwood Report* (issued as Chairman of Committee on Curricula and Examinations after the war), and in the *Higher Education of Boys in England: The English Educational System: The English Tradition in Education.*

His supreme influence as an English educationist is strikingly presented by the *Manchester Guardian* in its obituary notice of March 14.

> 'He was a great teacher and a great reformer. He did more than any man of his generation to maintain and revive the root principles of education, and to prevent the ossification of the public school system by tradition. But in the last resort his was the strength of the spirit, and it was because his dedication of his own powers was so complete that he gave unsparingly in small unnoticed things as well as in great.'

But it is Norwood's influence, not as a schoolmaster, but as a great English Churchman whose ideals demand most serious attention from the clerical leaders of our Church that we are concerned to emphasize here.

In 1937, Norwood was elected President of the Modern Churchmen's Union: among his predecessors in that office were Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Professor Percy Gardner, Canon M. G. Glazebrook (Headmaster of Clifton), Dean Hastings Rashdall, Dean Inge and Dean Matthews of St. Paul's—the period of learned deans in our national Church.

Norwood held the M.C.U. Presidency for the double period of ten years and contributed a number of Presidential addresses published in the *Modern Churchman*. He was succeeded by our present President, Sir Henry Self.

Norwood succeeded Dr. Macan, Master of University College, Oxford, as Chairman of the Governing Body of Ripon Hall, which he retained until 1946.

Norwood had long been a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union and for him the Christian Religion was the basic factor in English civilization. He was a comprehensive, central and critical Churchman. For him the primary elements in the Religion of Christ are not dominantly sacramental, ecclesiastical nor miraculous but spiritual, moral and rational.

He was no Humanist in the modern technical sense. He needed faith in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: he needed daily communion with God maintained by Prayer and by whole-hearted obedience to the Divine Will and the resolute many-sided endeavour to promote the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth as it is in heaven: he held that the three 'great values' of the Christian Religion were *love*—love to God and love to one's neighbour: *light* secured by loyalty to our increasing knowledge of truth: *eternal life* granted to man in the essential good news of the Gospel as given by Jesus Himself and by the many-sided developments of that eternal life by the manifold gift of the spirit as predicted in the Fourth Gospel:

> 'I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you into all the truth.' (*John* xvi; 12.)

Norwood attached the highest value to the *Doctrinal Report*. Those who desire something more detailed than is possible in this brief summary of Norwood's convictions and Church of England policy we would refer to the *Doctrinal Report* of which he wrote in 1947:

> 'This freedom to differ in matters which are not essential, even though they appear essential to some, has been secured for us by the *Doctrinal Report*, and I have always regarded that document, now too little known and too infrequently quoted, as at once the justification of our Union and the provider of the sole basis on which our Church and the Free Churches and tens of thousands who are in sympathy with us but not in communion, can unite in a living Fellowship.'[1]

[1] Vol. xxxvi, p. 112, Presidential Address at the 29th Conference of Modern Churchmen.

Sir Cyril Norwood was succeeded in the Presidency of the Modern Churchmen's Union by Sir Henry Self, K.C.B., but as he is still with us as President he cannot be included in this memoir.

H.D.A.M.

TWO MODERNIST PREACHERS

WOODBINE WILLY* AND WALLACE ELLIOTT

Many things are said of Ripon Hall, often by people who have a very superficial knowledge of it. One thing its critics will be interested to learn. Ripon had a share in producing Studdert Kennedy. He never forgot what he owed to his theological home. Long after the war, at the height of his fame, he admitted to the writer of this review of *Kennedy by his Friends* that the lectures he attended on the Philosophy of Religion at Ripon formed the veritable stuff out of which his theology was subsequently made. Few of the contributors to this volume would care to be labelled 'Modernist,' and probably they would not advise promising ordinands to enter Ripon Hall, yet they yield unstinted homage to the work and worth of the best known of Ripon's sons.

As this book is being widely read and discussed, it may appear unnecessary to draw attention to it. But there are points which cannot be too plainly accentuated, especially in these days when, in many religious circles, there is a most unfortunate 'defeatist' atmosphere.

These points for our learning will be found in the chapters dealing with Kennedy as a War Padre and the lucid summary of his teaching by Archbishop William Temple. Kennedy was clearly in the succession of those who from the time of St. Paul have not been afraid to handle the core of Christian crisis. In this instance, the War and the average man in khaki were the decisive point. Kennedy went straight for this. The whole of his teaching was coloured by it. Without this context, his message, manner and methods are meaningless, and indeed sinister. Modernists concerned with the unfortunate hiatus existing between the religion of sweet reasonableness as enunciated at a Modernist Girton Conference and a British public blown about by every breeze of scepticism and superstition, not to mention carnality, may take heart from the astonishing success of Kennedy's crusades. The Archbishop shows how all that Modernists have contended for took flesh in the preaching of Kennedy. Nothing could be truer or more effective than his treatment of Prayer, where he and Robertson of Brighton are one. Some may boggle at Kennedy's strong Sacramentalism. We doubt whether it was more to him than a framework. At any rate his Eucharistic teaching emphazies the human and practical aspects of the rite.

Modernists will also be interested to note how another of their plank-themes was handled—the limitation of God in this world of time and space. We cannot here subject to detailed examination Kennedy's Theology and Christology. Examined, we have little doubt of the verdict. Kennedy was the greatest of popular expounders of Modernism.

It may interest Modernists to learn that another very influential popular preacher, Wallace Elliott, was one of Studdert Kennedy's fellow students at Ripon Hall.

A.T.W.D.

* *G. A. Studdert-Kennedy*, by his friends (1929). *Rough Rhymes of a Padre, The Hardest Part, Food for the Fed-up*, by G. A. Studdert-Kennedy.

ADELA MARION ADAM

ON May 12, 1944, in Cambridge, Adela Marion Adam, a very old member of the Modern Churchmen's Union, 'put on immortality'. She was the daughter of an Oxford don, Arthur Kensington, Fellow of Trinity College; and she married a Cambridge don, James Adam, Fellow of Emanuel College. She herself was also a don, Staff Lecturer of Girton College, of whose Governing Body she was a member for twenty years.

She was a brilliant classical scholar, and took two firsts in the Classical Tripos. When her distinguished husband died prematurely, after his delivery of the Gifford Lectures (1904-6) on *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, she supervised their publication and prefaced them with an inspiring memoir of a noble personality. In 1910, she contributed an essay marked by fine critical judgment, 'Greek Ideals of Righteousness', to a slim but very valuable volume entitled *Early Ideals of Righteousness, Hebrew, Greek and Roman*. Her two fellow-contributors were Professor Kennett and Professor Gwatkin. She also wrote a well-known volume on *Plato; Moral and Political Ideas*.

She lost her son and son-in-law in the Great War and published a memoir of the former. She had much in common with Alice Gardner of Newnham, whose brother, Professor Percy Gardner, wrote Dr. Adam's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. As an accomplished musician, Mrs. Adam took a prominent part in the musical life of Cambridge.

In her religion, she was a modern Christian Humanist inheriting the great traditions of the Oxford Humanists of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, together with those of the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century. She was as free from fanaticism as she was from obscurantism, the possessor of a classical culture which knew nothing of agnosticism and nothing of materialism. Perhaps the act which commemorates her most characteristically is her reading to her dying husband the fourteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. John *in Greek*.

H.D.A.M.

ALICE ASHLEY
1891—1953

By the death of Alice Ashley the Council of the Modern Churchmen's Union has lost an influential member.

Her parents were devoted members of our fellowship and regular attendants at our annual conferences. Her father, Sir William Ashley, Vice-Principal of Birmingham University, and a pupil of Jowett of Balliol, was a distinguished economic historian. His *Introduction to English Economic History and Theory* and *The Bread of Our Forefathers* are classics in our social history. But for Ashley, a nation's religion was not less important than

its economics. His volume *The Christian Outlook* (Longman's, 1925) subheading 'The Sermons of an Economist,' demonstrates and illustrates this.

Her mother, the daughter of Birkbeck Hill, Fellow of Lincoln College, one of our great authorities on Dr. Johnson and his contemporaries, was a notable modern-minded schoolmaster, and his daughter was educated on the same lines as his boy pupils. If it be true, as indeed it is, that our education begins with the education of our parents, Alice Ashley made a very promising educational start.

After taking her degree at Newnham College, Cambridge (1913), and spending a year at Bryn Mawr College U.S.A. (1914), she entered the educational profession, holding posts successively in Darlington, Edgbaston, Rochester and Halifax, and was appointed Head Mistress of Honor Oak School in 1931, which she held until her resignation in 1951. The quality of her leadership and the success of her many-sided administrative activities are recorded in the Honor Oak School Magazine 1951 (No. 31). Her educational ideal was dominantly *aesthetic*. In the public address delivered on her appointment in 1931 she expressed it thus:

> 'Plato thought that from perception of the beautiful intransient forms, the soul, by slow degrees might ascend to a comprehension of ideal beauty. The full realization of this is too hard for us, but earlier stages of its progress may perhaps be accomplished here. And within the term of beauty we include the recognition of real worth in human conduct, a recognition to which the mind may be awakened by the humane arts of literature and history. And from such recognition will grow a widening sympathy and a readiness to grasp another's point of view.'

But as a sound educationalist, Alice Ashley realized that the aesthetic had to be disciplined by the demands of the rational which are both intellectual and ethical.

> 'An essential function of education is to help towards the development of those powers of judgement and of clear and rational thought which are so necessary for the right conduct of life. This aim lies at the back of our work in science and mathematics.'

One who had been her fellow-worker during the long period of her Honor Oak Headship writes, and with her verdict we conclude our commemoration:

> 'It would not be possible to work with Miss Ashley for twenty-one years . . . without becoming aware of certain principles and ideals which have inspired and directed her. One thinks of her great love of the beautiful, natural beauty, beauty in art and in literature, beauty in human conduct and character. How many of our minor failings are just 'spoiling the beauty of our grounds, or our School, or even our personal appearance'! How many times is our prayer, 'Show us, O Lord, what true beauty is,'—for a great amount of thought and preparation have always gone into the planning of School Prayers—planning in which for many years now a committee of staff and girls has been invited to join. Then one realizes that Miss Ashley was ahead of the Norwood Committee in recognizing the great value of School Prayers and, indeed, of religion as a sound basis for all education.'

H.D.A.M.

A. KATHARINE WALKER

By the death of Miss A. K. Walker, 1943, the Modern Churchmen's Union has lost a devoted member and her intimates a cultured and stimulating personality. A constant attendant at the M.C.U. Conferences, she had many

friends among its members. She was a fine example of the modern educated Christian woman who dwells in many spiritual homes beside that provided by the National Church.

For instance she found herself in intimate sympathy of thought and outlook with the Rev. Leslie Weatherhead, whose illuminating preaching appealed strongly to a vigorous and cultured mind: for years she played the organ of the Church of the Wisdom of God when residing at Kingswood, and afterwards at Reigate: she possessed antiquarian interests and was a friend of the late Sir Flinders Petrie: in 1908 she produced a beautiful illustrated volume on *The Fonts of Sussex*: she contributed an interesting paper on the English Mystics to her local branch of the Modern Churchmen's Union. She was a benefactress of Ripon Hall and left to its library a number of interesting books.

An educationist by nature as by profession, her pupils will remember her influence with gratitude. Those of us who had the privilege of knowing her well found in her a fount of varied interests and the response of an enlightened soul possessed of an emancipated Christian view of life.

H. J. TRUEMAN

EDITH DOWELL

The passing of Edith Dowell breaks a link with the past—both the past of the recent war and the more distant past beyond the memory of any but the oldest of us. Hers was a great soul utterly devoted to the cause of truth whether in the ordinary everyday hurly-burly of this world's troublous life or in the more specialized sphere of Liberal Theology.

What the Modern Churchmen's Union owes to Miss Dowell is only known to a few. For many years, when she occupied our central office in London, she kept in touch with members all the world over. The arrival of a subscription did not mean merely the sending of a receipt or an entry in a book: it was the occasion for a personal letter. She 'counted time by heart-throbs, not in figures on a dial.' We know from the letters of those in distant parts how valuable this personal contact could be. The Union was her whole being, and when we were obliged to close down the London office, we really brought her life to an end. She pursued her duties regardless of dropping bombs ('those murderers are overhead again,' she wrote to me from the middle of a raid), sometimes under conditions of great ill-health and pain.

As became a member of the Nelson family, she was an individualist to the core—of such and for such our Union exists.

On my last visit to her she repeated her *confessio fidei*: 'I believe in the Humanity of Jesus and in the Divinity of Man'—no bad foundation for a thoroughly orthodox faith.

R. B. HENDERSON

ALICE GARDNER

BY the death (December, 1927) of Miss Alice Gardner, the sister of Professor Percy Gardner, the Modernist cause has lost one whose great learning and whole-hearted interest were a source of strength. While her health permitted, she shared with Canon John Gamble official responsibility for the activities of the Bristol Branch of the Churchmen's Union.

The long obituary notice in *The Times* paid a well-merited tribute to her services rendered both to historical research, particularly in the sphere of Byzantine history, and to the higher education of women, mainly during her thirty years as tutor and lecturer at Newnham College, Cambridge.

Miss Gardner (like her distinguished brother) also made her contribution to theological thought and religious reflection. As might be expected her mode of approach was historical and practical. In ecclesiastical history the more philosophical types of Churchmen attracted her. Her sympathetic studies of *Synesius of Cyrene* and *John the Scot* should be read by all Modernists. Her books of practical religion, *The Conflict of Duties* and *Within our Limits*, reflect her deep seriousness and conscientious moderation as a religious teacher. Her most valuable contribution to theology was undoubtedly her *History of Sacrament in Relation to Thought and Progress* (Crown Theological Library, Williams and Norgate, 1921). It is a fine example of the right treatment for persons of education of this important theme, both in its method of approach and in its breadth of conception. Neither the dogmatist and the fanatic, nor the materialist and the sceptic, can estimate or interpret sacraments rightly. It is only the teacher of noble mind, perpetually conscious in all existence of the eternal behind and within the natural, who can present sacraments aright.

H.D.A.M.

MARY HARVEY HART

THE Modernist cause has lost one of its oldest and most ardent adherents by the death of Miss Hart on September 26, 1932, at the age of 97. She was a woman of high intelligence and strong personality, and combined the widest religious outlook with self-denying social service. She was a strenuous advocate of co-partnership and the co-operative movement in industry. This brought her into accute conflict with the professional advocates of State intervention and communistic socialism, and the still larger body of selfish individualists. She opposed those methods which seek to do *for* the worker and his master what can only be done *by* the worker and his master in co-operation. The industrial partnership of employer and employed, the participation of the workman in the profits and prosperity of the master constituted her ideal—the secret of associated instead of divided and conflicting interests.

Miss Hart spent her private fortune in supporting this movement so essentially Christian and so eminently common-sense.

The motto of her life was that of her hero Leclaire, the founder of the French Co-partnership movement:

> 'I believe in the God who has written in our hearts the law of duty, the law of progress, the law of sacrifice of oneself for others.'

She was a personal friend of two notable bishops, one English the other American: Stubbs of Truro, the friend of the agricultural labourer and the popularizer in England of the social and religious gospel of Mazzini: and Williams of Michigan, who strove with equal energy and resolution to advance the cause of religious modernism and social betterment in the United States and who was also himself a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union.

H.D.A.M.

MAURICE ARTHUR CANNEY

ON May 16, 1942, by the death of Professor Maurice Canney, the Modernist cause has lost a firm supporter of many years standing. Educated at Merchant Taylors' School, London, and St. John's College, Oxford, he specialized in Semitic languages, and after a period of teaching in Germany was appointed Assistant Lecturer in Manchester University in 1910, becoming Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature in 1912. From this post he retired in 1934. He succeeded Professor Hogg in 1912 as Editor of the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, only resigning in 1940.

He was a member of the editorial staff of the *Encyclopedia Biblica* from 1897 to 1903. He delivered the Ghosh Lecture on Comparative Religion at Calcutta University in 1925. He contributed to Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* and many other learned publications. His own books, *An Encyclopedia of Religions* (1921), *Givers of Life* (1923), *The Larger Life in Focus* (1927-28), *Newness of Life* (1928), exhibited the strength and breadth of his spiritual and moral outlook.

Although he had graduated in the Honours School of Theology at Oxford, theological difficulties precluded his proceeding to ordination, for which in many ways he was excellently suited.

He was the son of Edward Canney, Rector of St. Peter's, Saffron Hill, whom some may remember as the originator of holidays in the country for London slum children.

H.D.A.M.

HENRY BARRAN

AT the age of 85, in 1942, Henry Barran passed out of this mortal life. He was one of those great-hearted, large-minded laymen who have honoured the Modern Churchmen's

Union by their membership. He was the fourth son of the late Sir John Barran, Bt., and the uncle of our Sir John Barran who has served the Modern Churchmen's Union as Treasurer for the last twenty years. A graduate of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and a barrister by profession, he became a great figure in the commercial, philanthropic and sporting life of Leeds.

He not only gave large sums of money to maintain or found philanthropic institutions in that progressive Yorkshire city, but also devoted to their service his great powers of administration and human sympathy. In a long obituary notice, the *Yorkshire Post* (May 8) enumerates the chief of his public services.

> 'A large part of his life was willingly devoted to philanthropic work. Especially did the Women's and Children's Hospital appeal to him. He accepted the chairmanship of the institution in 1900, and by his personal influence greatly helped the scheme for housing it in more commodious buildings. He was indefatigable in raising funds and had the satisfaction of seeing the new hospital rise steadily to its completion. For many years he continued to be the guiding hand of the institution, and to the last his interest in its welfare remained keen and unabated. He was also one of the oldest members of the Board of the Leeds General Infirmary, and took an especial interest in the big extension undertaken as a memorial of King Edward.'

His public services included also the University of Leeds. He was a life member of the Court, and a member of the committee which dealt with economics and commerce.

Henry Barran was also keenly interested in juvenile work, and was Vice-Chairman and Treasurer of the Leeds Y.M.C.A. Boys' Work Committee. He gave £8,000 for the building of a juvenile community institute on the Gipton Housing Estate. He also presented playing fields to the city. His attitude towards youth was essentially understanding and genial.

> 'There are no bad boys, Parson: there are plenty of naughty boys, but no bad boys.'

He was a strong Churchman and a trustee of the famous Leeds Parish Church. He was an equally strong Modernist. The Vicar of Moor Allerton (the Rev. E. N. Giles) described him in the *Yorkshire Post* (May 9) as possessing 'a mind given to searching for and pondering upon great truth . . . awake and alert', citing in illustration the following passage from Thomas Carlyle:

> 'Religion in unnoticed nooks is weaving for herself new vestures wherewith to reappear, and bless us, or our sons, or grandsons.'

'Wise, eager and humble', he combined sound judgment with courageous leadership.

H.D.A.M.

JAMES GRANVILLE ADDERLEY

PREBENDARY the Hon. James Adderley passed away on June 1, 1942. He had been a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union for nearly thirty years. Beginning his clerical life as an Anglo-Catholic, he later found much to sympathize with in English Modernism. When he succeeded the Rev. G. A. Studdert-Kennedy (a Ripon Hall ordinand) as Rector of St. Edmund the Martyr, E.C.3, he welcomed annual courses of sermons delivered in its pulpit by Liberal Churchmen.

He was a devoted parish priest and led a most strenuous and self-denying life. He was a strong believer in social reform and furthered it even more by example than by precept. He held a number of pastoral charges in London and Birmingham. As a very young man he became Head of Oxford House. In 1917 he was Select Preacher before the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He became a Prebendary of St. Paul's in 1935. Grave in deportment, he possessed a strong sense of humour and dramatic and literary gifts. He wrote several small and very readable books. The two most characteristic of him are *Stephen Remarx*, 1893, and *Old Seed on New Ground*, 1920. The latter is an attempt to re-write the Gospel parables for modern readers. Perhaps he succeeded best with the Unjust Steward. In his essay on Father Dolling, contributed to a series of *Lives of Great Christians*, Adderley reveals in his appreciations and judgments much of himself.

James Adderley came of a family of loyal Church workers, a type which is not so numerous as in Victorian days. His brother, the Hon. Reginald Adderley, was also a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union.

H.D.A.M.

FIVE BRITISH CITIZENS

John Nicholson Barran (1872—1952); Edward St. George Schomberg (1882—1952); Leonard Patterson (1886—1952); Francis James Wylie (1865—1952); Reginald Coupland (1884—1952).

(1)

THE death of Sir John Barran, Bt., at Sawley Hall, Yorks, deprives the M.C.U. of a Vice-President who had been a member of its Council for over forty years. Educated at Winchester and Trinity College, Cambridge, he became a Liberal Member of Parliament in 1909 and held a remarkable succession of political posts—being Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Postmaster General, to the President of the Local Government

Board, to the Home Secretary, to the Foreign Secretary and, last but not least, to Mr. Asquith, not only when he was Prime Minister but also in the years following on his resignation of the Premiership.

A great figure in the Yorkshire and London worlds of business, John Barran yet found time to support the cause of Liberal Churchmanship and undertook the duties of Hon. Treasurer of the M.C.U., and as Chancellor of our Exchequer earned the title of 'Black Michael'.

When the first Modern Churchmen's Annual Conference was held at Ripon in 1914, a few weeks before the outbreak of the First World War, we all attended a delightful garden party given by Sir John and Lady Barran at Sawley Hall on the heights above Fountains Abbey.

(2)

Edward St. George Schomberg, Vice-President of the M.C.U. and Master of Charterhouse, died in July, 1952.

Ordained in 1907, he served as Chaplain to the Forces in the First World War and was Mentioned in Dispatches. In 1917 he became Vicar of the important parish of St. Andrew's, Westminster. Henceforth the Metropolis was the centre of his active life. He served as Mayor of Westminster from 1931 to 1933, and as such was presented to George V at his Jubilee when the Mayors of England assembled to offer their congratulations. The King was curious to learn how it was possible for Schomberg to be both Mayor of Westminster and Vicar of St. Andrew's, Westminster, at the same time, and invited Schomberg to luncheon in order that he might explain it.

In 1935 he became Master of Charterhouse and lived in that historic pile until he and Mrs. Schomberg were bombed out in the Second World War. Schomberg belonged to the family of the great Duke of Schomberg, who was killed at the battle of the Boyne and of whom William III said he would rather have lost the battle than have lost Schomberg.

In our Vice-President's dining-room hung a notable portrait in oils by Hogarth entitled 'The portrait of a naval officer'. Schomberg was the direct descendant of this naval officer, who had commanded the boats which transported Wolfe and his troops to the Plains of Abraham at the capture of Quebec. Schomberg possessed this naval officer's notebook containing diagrams of the *bateaux*. On examining it we remarked: 'This book ought to be in the British Museum.' Its owner replied: 'If you don't mind I

had rather keep it myself.' We hope, however, that both the portrait and the note book have come safely through the bombing of Charterhouse.

From 1918 to 1935 the Annual Communion services of the M.C.U. were celebrated at St. Andrew's Church, and on those occasions the Vicarage was the centre of generous hospitality.

(3)

Leonard Patterson, Vicar of St. George's, Campden Hill, London, a life member of the M.C.U., passed away on August 5, after a long illness. Ordained in 1910, his scholastic career was initiated by First Class Honours in the Classical Tripos at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was a Scholar. He took his Cambridge B.D. in 1921 and then in 1926 received the D.D. from Trinity College, Dublin. He held a number of posts—some pastoral, some academic. He was chaplain of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1919-1920; Vice-Principal of Chichester Theological College, 1920-1925; Vice-Principal of Queen's College, Birmingham, 1925-1930. He produced two interesting volumes of religious research, *Mithraism and Christianity* (1921), *Theodore of Mopsuestia and Modern Thought* (1926).

(4)

Sir Francis Wylie, for many years a member of the M.C.U., passed away at his home on Boars Hill. Originally a Balliol man, he was elected Tutor and Fellow of Brasenose in 1891 and in 1903 was appointed Secretary to the Rhodes Scholarship Trustees, a post which he held until his retirement in 1931.

His combination of academic, social and administrative qualities enabled him to make an outstanding success of what at the outset was regarded in the University as a dubious experiment. His achievement in this sphere was recognized by a knighthood conferred in 1929. During the Second World War he was a constant attendant at the morning Services at Ripon Hall Chapel, where his presence gave moral and spiritual support to our movement.

(5)

Another member of the M.C.U., Sir Reginald Coupland, K.C.M.G., a distinguished figure in the University of Oxford but known, as was Sir Francis Wylie, throughout the whole British Empire, died on November 6, on his way to South Africa, whither he was going to carry on his researches in that sphere in which he had become the greatest authority in the British Empire.

As Beit Professor in Colonial History, the chair which he held from 1920 to 1948, he achieved an amazing output of lectures, articles and books dealing with British colonial expansion—an account of which is contained in the column-long obituary notice of Sir Reginald in *The Times* of November 7. The political and economic aspect of this colonial expansion in Professor Coupland's earlier researches was supplemented in later years by his emphasis on its humanitarian and ethical effects and influences.

These five Modern Churchmen whom we here commemorate, so varied in their gifts and spheres of action, are characteristically representative of the membership of the Modern Churchmen's Union and are examples of those educated men and women who amid their many interests and occupations yet realize the claims of modern churchmanship on their loyalty and service.

H.D.A.M.

CYRIL WILLIAM EMMET

THE Modernist cause in the English Church has suffered grievous loss by the sudden death of Cyril William Emmet. Mr. Emmet sailed from England on July 4 to preach a course of sermons at St. Bartholomew's Church, New York, and to fulfil other engagements in America. He preached his first sermon to a very large congregation with great effect on July 15. He was taken ill on the following Tuesday, and died from pneumonia on the following Sunday morning (July 22, 1923).

Modernists had hoped great things from his visit to America, *sed Deo aliter visum est.* Mr. Emmet was one of the very best products of the modern critical movement in the English Church. There are some whom that movement tempts to scepticism : there are others whom it frightens into obscurantism : there are others whom it leads into closer fellowship with God and their fellowmen, for it imparts to them truer views of the Divine nature and human nature, truer views of the universe and human history, truer views of the processes of revelation and salvation. Mr. Emmet came in this third class. He had a message to deliver which, while abreast of modern historical and critical knowledge, was yet absolutely loyal to the fundamental Christian verities. He possessed, moreover, a happy combination of courage, wisdom, and sympathy, which enabled him to say things which other men could not say without arousing alarm and opposition. He was possessed of a spirit of sweet reasonableness; he wished to conciliate opponents even when he was unable to convince them. He was exceedingly patient under criticism, and was always

genuinely anxious to understand those who criticized him. There are Liberal theologians, as there are Catholic theologians, who seem to lack the Christian *ethos:* this was far from being so in Mr. Emmet's case. Yet he was equally far from being a member of the *Deep Church Party*, or a lukewarm member of all parties at once. He was a convinced Modernist, and was not afraid to be known as such.

For years he had been a hard student. A Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he took a good degree (first class Mods., second class *Lit. Hum.*); ordained in 1898, he served in two London curacies until his college presented him to the vicarage of West Hendred in 1906. Here he remained until 1920. It was in this little country parish that he became a learned man and produced his books: *The Eschatological Question* in 1911, *Galatians* in 1912, his commentaries on the Third and Fourth Books of *Maccabees* in 1918 and 1919, and *Conscience, Creeds, and Critics*. His last published work was an able criticism in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April, 1923, of Bishop Gore's *Belief in Christ*.

When the Ripon Clergy College, which had been closed down during the war, was moved up to Oxford, and re-opened as Ripon Hall in 1919, Mr. Emmet was appointed Vice-Principal, a post which he held until his death. In 1920 he was elected a Fellow of University College, Oxford, and subsequently became Dean. As a theological tutor and lecturer in the University he showed ability of a very high order, for to his competent knowledge were united the gifts of lucidity, humour, and enthusiasm. He became select preacher before the University of Oxford in 1918-20, and of Cambridge in 1920. During the last five years of his life he entered into a stimulating literary partnership with Miss Lily Dougall and Canon Streeter. This bore fruit in his essays in the volumes entitled *Immortality* (1918) and *The Spirit* (1919), and in his contribution to *The Lord of Thought* (1923). He also wrote articles for Dr. Hastings' numerous dictionaries and for our magazines. He was an incessant and rapid worker, and it is to be feared that it was in some measure over-work which contributed to his death at the early age of forty-eight.

With the exception of the appointment of Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford in 1919, the Church authorities had not openly recognized his merits by promotion.

The acute sense of loss occasioned by his death has been tempered by the numerous expressions of gratitude for his useful life and uplifting influence from those to whom he ministered in various ways, and by the ready kindness of leading members of

St. Bartholomew's Church, New York, to his bereaved widow, which brings closer together the Modernists of the two countries. His body, by the generosity of an American layman, was brought back to England for interment at West Hendred, where he was loved and honoured as a faithful parish priest.

H.D.A.M.

LILY DOUGALL

THE death of Miss Lily Dougall following so closely on that of Cyril Emmet (July, 1923), deprives the M.C.U. in Oxford of two very influential members.

The Reverend Harold Anson contributed to the January, 1924, *Modern Churchman* a most illuminating Memoir of her mission and message. We cite and summarize some of its main points.

Lily Dougall, born in Montreal, was educated in Edinburgh and there began her career as a novelist. Her first and best-known novel, *Beggars All*, appeared in 1891. In the following years she published *The Zeit Geist*, *The Madonna of a Day*, *A Dozen Ways of Love*, *The Mormon Prophet*, *Paths of the Righteous*, and others.

The strong religious interest of her mind is seen in her novels, but it was not till 1900 that she issued her first theological book, *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, and that anonymously, for she judged that her name as a woman novelist would not commend her theological work to serious consideration. *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* was followed by a series of theological books all written anonymously. The identity of the author was only divulged after seven years, when she began to be known as a theological writer of great originality. After *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* the most popular were *Christus Futurus and The Practice of Christianity*. I believe she herself regarded *Voluntas Dei* as the most serious exposition of her theological standpoint.

In 1912 she moved from Exmouth, where she had been living for some years, and bought a cottage at Cumnor, which she transformed into a most charming house. It was at this house that she and her friend, Miss Earp entertained a succession of conferences which have had a very marked influence on theological thought, both among those who accepted, and those who rejected, the point of view which came to be associated with the 'Cumnor Group' and led to their first group book, *Concerning Prayer*. This book contained the very remarkable essay by A. C. Turner, which has not been really appreciated as it deserved. It

was drawn out of him by Miss Dougall with infinite difficulty and persuasion, and very soon afterwards 'Archie' Turner went to the war and was killed. There followed *Immortality* and *The Spirit*, produced by a much smaller number of contributors, and enlivened by the sparkling wit and learning of Mr. Clutton Brock. In all these books Canon Streeter took a leading part, and to him as much as to Miss Dougall, they owe their origin.

All through these years, Miss Dougall was a prominent figure at conferences, such as those of the Student Christian Movement, the Modern Churchmen's Union, the Anglican Fellowship, the Guild of Health and others. She had a very real affection for the Modern Churchmen's Union, and was disposed to be indignant when it was suggested that its members were lacking in devotion or spiritual zeal. She was impressed by the strength of the devotional spirit at the daily Eucharists at these conferences. Last July she joined with me in taking a retreat-conference for the Guild in Lancashire, and I was struck once again by her wonderful power of combining great simplicity in religion with very great critical acumen, a profound sympathy and a very merry sense of humour.

The loss to the Church of Miss Dougall is one which, though it has seemed to pass almost unnoticed in the strictly ecclesiastical world, will be felt most profoundly among those, both here and in Canada and the United States, who have had their whole religious outlook stirred and enlightened by a really critical and and always affectionate and devout mind; and those who knew her well, and have from time to time shared her home, feel that they know something of what the Kingdom might be when the teaching of the Lord is lived out in an atmosphere of beauty and kindliness and wisdom and hard work.

HAROLD ANSON

ALFRED FAWKES

(1850—1930)

ON All Soul's Day, 1930, at the age of eighty, Alfred Fawkes passed away and was appropriately buried on Gun-Powder Plot day. He told me that having been introduced to Cardinal Vaughan at a dinner party the Cardinal said : 'Fawkes ! Are you a kinsman of his?' Fawkes replied : 'Yes, Eminence.' The Cardinal raised his hands in a gesture of prayer and said : '*San Guido!*'

By his death the English public was deprived of a discriminating and arresting writer on things ecclesiastical. His wide

learning, mental clarity, brilliant style, fine sense of humour united to excellent judgment and good taste, gave a rare quality to his articles and reviews. His friends felt the withdrawal of a rich and pleasant personality, delightful alike in its sanity and courtesy. Ecclesiastically, Alfred Fawkes was a Modernist. Modernists are of many kinds, but from the religious standpoint they may be classified as either rationalists or mystics. Alfred Fawkes was a rationalist. His favourite bishop was Thirlwall: his favourite poet Horace: his favourite theologian Whichcote, the Cambridge Platonist, two of whose sayings he delighted in especially:

> 'Truth lies in a narrow room and in a small compass: vitals in religion are few.'
>
> 'I have always found that such preaching of others hath most commanded my heart which hath most illuminated my head.'

Yet it had not always been so with Fawkes. Educated at Eton and Balliol, he became, when at Oxford, an ardent Tractarian: was ordained Deacon in 1874 and served as curate at St. Paul's, Brighton: a year later he entered the Roman Church, and was ordained Priest by Cardinal Manning in 1881. In the Roman Church he remained until 1909. On Easter Day of that year he was received back into the Church of England by John Percival, Bishop of Hereford, for whom he had the sincerest admiration and became a staunch member of the Modern Churchman's Union. In 1911 he became vicar of the little country parish of Ashby St. Ledgers (historically connected with the Gunpowder Plot) and so continued until his death. He returned to the English Church a disillusioned, but in no sense a disgruntled, man. A certain noble reticence and largeness of mind never permitted him to utter personal complaints. The reputations of friends and even of enemies were safe in his hands. Of the Church of Rome he said little, save that it was incredible to him that it should increase in influence among people of intelligence in this country, and that English churchmen failed to understand the real strength of the Church of Rome, which lay mainly not in her antiquity, dogmatic system, universality, aesthetic charm, but in her superb powers of organization and finance. There was no idealism, sentimentalism, scrupulosity in Roman *policy*, although many Roman Catholics were both idealists and sentimentalists, but a hard realism. Many times has the writer heard him say: 'You do not understand: Anglicans never do understand the Church of Rome. That Church is an extremely businesslike affair.' It was, he believed, these practical considerations, not

Thomist Theology or Catholic Tradition, which determined Roman policy and practice.

If Alfred Fawkes understood the Church of Rome, he understood the Church of England no less. He understood it as the prophet Jeremiah understood Judah. What grieved him sorely was that so many of the leaders of the Church of England understood their Church as little as they understood the Church of Rome. As a consequence, under the plea of 'Catholicizing' and 'liberating' the Church of England, they were striving to deprive their Church of its true character, which was both its strength and glory. In his eyes the Church of England was supremely understood by Richard Hooker and Connop Thirlwall. Armed with *The Ecclesiastical Polity* of the one, and the *Charges* of the other, Theophilus Anglicanus could protect it effectively against Papal superstitions and denationalising innovations.

He loved the Church of England with a fervent love—a love which was all the deeper and stronger because he had been for so long separated from her fellowship. For modern people of culture by far the best defence of the Church of England is his delightfully-written volume, *The Genius of the English Church*.[1] In that Church he beheld potentially the loyal, serviceable, patient servant of the English Nation, ordained to stand for truth, freedom, sound morality, wise simplicity, and judicious moderation in Christ. . . . He valued the Establishment of the Church of England for the practical benefits which it conferred on both Church and State. His booklet, *Shall we Disestablish?* presents the case for retaining Establishment. He wished that Free Churchmen could recognize that Disestablishment would lead to the strengthening of Romanizing tendencies among Anglicans and so, indirectly, to the strengthening of the Roman Catholic Church in England.

Fawkes was an unflinching Modernist. His brilliant volume of essays, *Studies in Modernism*,[2] indicates how wide and deep his Modernism was.

Fawkes had friends in many camps. We conclude with an extract from a letter from the Right Reverend Dr. Knox, formerly Bishop of Manchester, published in *The Times* of November 5, 1930.

> 'Sharing with myself the fear that the Life and Liberty Movement would be in the end disastrous to freedom, we were drawn to an acquaintance which ripened into sincere friendship. His intimate knowledge of the Church of Rome from within, his wide learning, his brilliant and incisive literary style, were combined with a very genuine piety and charity.'

[1] Published by John Murray, price 3/6 (1917).
[2] Published by John Murray, price 10/6.

We cite a passage from another letter to *The Times* of the same date signed R.C.W.

> . . . 'His interest in the Modern Churchmen's Union was possible because of its wide basis. Ashby St. Ledgers takes the visitor back at least a century. His trim little house was lined with books from floor to ceiling everywhere. His church had suffered nothing from restorers possessed of zeal without knowledge. It all had a pre-Tractarian air. Everyone in the tiny parish loved their parson.'
>
> H.D.A.M.

EARL GREY, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

(Vice-President of the Modern Churchmen's Union).

By the Very Rev. W. Moore Ede, D.D., Dean of Worcester.

IN the passing away of Earl Grey on August 29, 1917, our public life has lost one of its most interesting personalities; a man of extraordinarily wide and varied interests, and an incurable optimist, who by his infectious enthusiasm accomplished many social reforms.

The Right Hon. Albert Henry George Grey, Fourth Earl, came of an old liberty loving Northumbrian stock, his grandfather being author of the great Reform Bill of 1832.

. . . His career as a statesman; his work in South Africa; the part he played in the foundation of Rhodesia, and as Governor-General of Canada; belong to the history of the Empire. It is his work as a Christian philanthropist and a Churchman which is the special interest of the readers of the *Modern Churchman*. A man of broad national sympathies, Earl Grey ardently desired to widen the outlook of the Church of England, and to render it more truly national. He therefore became a member of the Church Reform Union, the objects of which were:

> 'To make the Church National in more than name; to relax the tests imposed on candidates for Holy Orders; and to give parishioners the right of appointing their own clergy, and a voice in determining the character of the services in their parish church.'

Objects which Grey in his breezy way described as 'up with the Wardens and down with the Parson'. . . . After a few years of fitful agitation the Church Reform Union ceased to exist. Whether the present attempt to embody part of the programme in the form of Statutory Parish Councils as is proposed in the Archbishops'

Report will prove more successful, remains to be seen. If it fails, it is evident that clerical autocracy is so rapidly alienating the laity that the Church is fast losing its claim to be national, and disestablishment is inevitable.

From the reform of the Church Earl Grey turned to the reform of our industrial relations, and threw himself heartily into the co-operative movement, of which he became a steadfast advocate. He practised what he preached, and applied the principles of co-operation on his own estate, and was proud of the success of the co-operative store in his own village of Howick. . . . Well does the writer remember a glorious summer day at Howick when representatives of all the co-operative societies of Northumberland, and many from Durham, for the most part miners and their wives, were entertained by the Earl, who addressed us in his bright, cheery way, and presented us all with a medal inscribed with the words, 'From slave to serf, from serf to hireling, from hireling to partner'.

An ardent believer in housing reform on co-operative lines, he was a supporter of Letchworth and the Garden suburb movements, and when he was Governor-General of Canada he invited Mr. Henry Vivian to visit the Dominion and expound to the people of that country the advantages of limited dividends and co-operative enterprise as embodied in the Tenants, Ltd., movement, if they would save their cities from the overcrowding and the other ills which soulless capitalistic competition have caused in England. . . .

One of Earl Grey's latest public acts was the opening of an extension of a Garden suburb at Worcester. This give him an opportunity of visiting the small holdings in the Vale of Evesham, which he described as 'the hope of England'.

Like everyone who cares for the welfare of his fellows, he realised the importance of Temperance Reform, and with the view of combatting the evils of our licensing system, founded the Public House Trust Co., in which the managers receive a percentage on all non-alcoholic refreshments, but none on alcoholic, and thus have no interest in pushing the sale of drink, and as shareholders may not receive more than 5 per cent. on their capital, there are funds available for improving the houses for the benefit of their customers.

The origin of this Trust movement is worth narrating, as it illustrates the generous character and the public spirit of the man.

A large population had sprung up at a colliery in which Earl Grey was interested. It appeared inevitable that a licence would be granted, so rather than let some outside brewery company

obtain it, Earl Grey applied himself for a licence. To the surprise of the Earl when the licence was granted, he was at once offered £10,000 for it. This caused him furiously to think why should he receive £10,000 when he had done nothing for it? He refused the offer, and declining all personal advantage, founded the Public House Trust Co., and made the licence over to it. In his social work in Worcestershire he was warmly supported by his friend Dr. Percival, its modernist Bishop.

A close friend of Cecil Rhodes, he was a great believer in closer union between the English speaking peoples, and used every opportunity afforded him as Governor-General of Canada to cultivate friendly relations with the statesmen and citizens of the United States. When, therefore, a movement was inaugurated for the celebration of the hundred years peace between Great Britain and the United States, which dated from the Rush Bagot treaty of 1816, when both nations agreed to disarmament along their frontier, and the 100 years peace which followed, triumphantly vindicated the practical wisdom of acting on Christian principles, it was natural that Earl Grey should be chosen Chairman of the British Committee, and natural that he should throw himself heartily into various schemes for celebrating this Centenary. Unfortunately the outbreak of the War necessitated the postponement of the Celebration which, now that the United States has joined the Allies, will probably assume larger dimensions when peace renders it possible to hold it.

It is difficult for one who knows Northumberland to recount Earl Grey's philanthropic activities and tell how he was one of the founders of the University Extension movement in the North, an active member of the County Council, a promoter of the chair of Agriculture at the Armstrong College, and keenly interested in the Experimental Farm. Until Earl Grey went to South Africa there was scarcely any movement in the North for the uplifting of humanity with which he was not in some way connected, and to which he did not impart some of his spirit of breezy optimism. Behind all this life of philanthropic activity there lay religious conviction. English-like, he did not talk about it, but those who knew him best felt that the background was a broad catholic Christianity, and none were surprised when he arranged a service in Church as part of the programme of the Co-operative Conference at Howick. To him, as to so many whose hope of social improvement had been high, the War came as a terrible blow, for it meant the inevitable postponement of his hopes and the frustration of so much of his work for humanity.

WILLIAM HENRY FREMANTLE

ON Christmas Eve, 1916, a fine old Broad Churchman, the Hon and Very Rev. W. H. Fremantle, late Dean of Ripon, and formerly Fellow, Tutor, and Chaplain of Balliol, and Chaplain to Archbishop Tait, passed away in his eighty-sixth year. Endowed with a fine physique, a strong intellect, ample means, and every educational and social advantage, he devoted himself with whole-hearted and unremitting industry to the service of the Church of England. His view of that Church and of its duty knew no ecclesiastical limitations. For him the Church and the nation were one. The State was the nation organized for civic purposes; the Church the nation organized for religious instruction and worship. Both Church and State had the same object, the national welfare, based securely only on true righteousness. The separation of Church and State, either in thought and feeling or in action, was for him the most deadly heresy and the most ruinous schism. He felt that the weakness of Anglo-Catholicism was its ecclesiasticism. It appeared to him that it wished to separate the ideal of the Church and State, and in a mediaeval Hildebrandine spirit to organize the Church in isolation from the national life and in proud opposition to it. He felt that the weakness of Evangelicalism lay in its individualism, that it limited its activities and outlook too much to the saving of the individual soul, and failed to extend them definitely to the saving of the nation by deliberately claiming every aspect of the national life, political, industrial, and social, as within the sphere of the Christian Religion. Yet, in his personal religious habits and liturgical manners, Dr. Fremantle was closely akin to the Evangelicals. Yet, in other matters, he was unable to accept the Evangelical ideal. He felt that the Evangelical ideal was good as far as it went, but that it was a *defective* ideal, whereas the ideal of the Anglo-Catholic appeared to him to be a *perverted* ideal.

Very few understood, and possibly still fewer appreciated, his own ideal of the National Church, although he claimed, and with strong arguments, that it was the ideal of the great English Reformers.

His interest in the wider aspects of the Christian Religion was probably first aroused by his successful competition when at Oxford for the Chancellor's English Essay Prize on 'The Influence of Commerce upon Christianity', a subject on which there is much more to be said than on the influence of Christiantity upon Commerce. But the formative influences in his Broad Churchmanship were undoubtedly Benjamin Jowett, the head of

his college, and Dean Stanley, who was Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History when Mr. Fremantle, as Fellow of All Souls', went up the second time to Oxford.

As Bampton Lecturer in 1883 he put into full and formal shape his conception of the function of the Christian Religion in human life. These lectures, entitled *The World as the subject of Redemption*, were almost unnoticed in England, and secured their first public, as did the writings of Jeremy Bentham and Thomas Carlyle, in the United States, where he afterwards accepted an invitation to lecture.

Before this, he had in conjunction with Mr. Brodrick, produced a book on the *Ecclesiastical Judgments of the Privy Council*, which he regarded as affording striking examples of a spirit of wisdom and justice such as could not be looked for in any purely ecclesiastical court.

After the publication of his Bampton Lectures, he wrote a life of St. Jerome—a saint with whom he had little in common except industry—and edited some of his more important writings. Later on he edited two volumes of Jowett's sermons, with an interesting preface dealing with Jowett as a preacher. He had already published some of his own sermons under the title, *The Gospel of the Secular Life*, and other slighter volumes from his pen appeared in later years. Meanwhile, as successively Vicar of Lewknor, Rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, Canon of Canterbury, and finally Dean of Ripon, he led the life of an active pastor and preacher. His philanthropic and religious activities were many-sided. He organised local charities; he kept in close touch with leading Liberal Protestants on the Continent; he was always striving directly and indirectly to promote better relations between the Church of England and Nonconformists; in Convocation and *The Times* he was ever ready to challenge M. Gambetta's enemy and his own. This led him to view the Church Finance Scheme with grave suspicion as putting a power into the hands of ecclesiastical boards, which he feared might be misused in the interests of clericalism.

In 1902, he read before the Churchmen's Union a paper which being briefly reported and in a somewhat sensational manner in the daily press, produced a storm in ecclesiastical circles. Dr. Fremantle was accused of having denied Christ's Resurrection and Virgin-birth. What he did deny was not Christ's Resurrection tion, but the resurrection of His physical body; as for the Virgin-birth, he believed it to have occurred, but did not believe it to be miraculous, regarding it apparently as a case of *parthenogenesis*

in the human species, a conclusion which seems to raise more difficulties than it solves.

During his twenty years as Dean of Ripon, he won the respect and affection of his fellow-townsmen by his kind heart, wide sympathy, wise philanthropy, unflinching attention to duty, and generous hospitality.

His life abounded with interesting experiences. He preached at the Hague on the occasion of the Second Peace Conference. Curiously enough it fell to his lot to advise Dr. Tait not to accept Walter Pater as a candidate for Holy Orders, an incident which indicates that the broadest of Broad Churchmen have their limits.

SIR FRANCIS FREMANTLE

SIR Francis Fremantle, O.B.E., D.M., M.P., author of 'The Layman's Rights and Duties', died on August 26, 1944—eldest son of the Very Rev. and Hon. W. H. Fremantle, Dean of Ripon.

Francis Fremantle, like his father, was a strong supporter of the aims of the Modern Churchmen's Union, being when he died a member of its Council. Educated at Eton and Balliol, he entered Guy's Hospital as a medical student and qualified as B.M. Oxon in 1898. He saw much medical service abroad, being a civil surgeon in the South African War, Plague Officer in India (1903-4), Special Correspondent to the *Lancet* in the Russo-Japanese War, D.A.D.M.S. in Gallipoli, Egypt and Mesopotamia in the Great War.

In England, his main medical interest was Public Health. He served as County Medical Officer of Health for Hertfordshire and held this post until 1916, when he became Consulting Medical Officer of Health. He was a member of the Industrial Health Research Board in 1930-34, a member of the Departmental Commission on Rent Restriction Acts in 1923, 1931, and 1937, and on the Midwives Act (1908), and a member of the Central Housing Advisory Committee on the Ministry of Health and of the Inter-departmental Committee on Nursing Service. In 1920 he was President of the Incorporated Society of Medical Officers of Health, in 1928 President of the Section of Epidemiology and State Medicine of the Royal Society of Medicine, and Fellow and Vice-President of the Royal Sanitary Institute. He was the author of a number of medical treatises dealing with various aspects of his work and experience. He sat as Conservative M.P. for St. Albans from 1919 until his death.

Sir Francis Fremantle was a strong believer in maintaining close relations between Church and State, and regarded Establishment as the best means to that end. Kind-hearted, courteous, philanthropic, possessed of wide experience and sound judgment, he was a valued friend and deservedly popular in many circles. It would be hard to find a more practical, understanding and dutiful member of the Church of England. He will be greatly missed in the Modern Churchmen's Union; for, like Sir Arnold Wilson and Sir Bunnell Burton, fellow-members of that Society, who have died since the outbreak of the war, he represents a type of Christian layman whose understanding, loyalty and many-sided service Church and Nation can ill-afford to lose.

H.D.A.M.

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL

By the Rev. Dr. GERALD RENDALL, Headmaster of Charterhouse

'Thus I live in the world rather as a spectator of mankind . . . who can discern the errors in the economy, business, and diversion of others better than those who are engaged in them; as standers-by discover blots which are apt to escape those who are in the game. I never espouse any party with violence, and am resolved to observe an exact neutrality between the Whigs and Tories, unless forced to declare myself by the hostilities of either side. I have acted in all parts of my life as a looker-on.'

Addison, Spectator I.

THE death of Edward, Lord Russell of Liverpool, removes one whose name has graced the list of our Vice-Presidents for many years; and memories of him vividly recall that genial yet shrewd Spectator, who was at home in many companies, moving amid 'the round of politicians at Will's', or 'smoking a pipe at Child's', or 'on Sunday night at St. James' . . . to hear and to improve', or 'who had been taken for a merchant upon the Exchange for these many years past'. Unaided by special advantages, his native gifts of observation, insight and analysis, his range of interests and sympathies, his active and well-furnished memory with a singularly free and gracious flow of utterance, drew him almost automatically to the paths of journalism, where he stepped at once into positions of confidence and authority, and for more than half a century played no small part in moulding and in formulating the thoughts of Northern England. His library was his joy and pride, a beautifully ordered concourse of books selected along modern lines—history, biography, economics, sociology, art and general literature—to serve the multifarious needs of his vocation. He habitually sat in their company, and constantly sipped afresh at the sources—the things best thought

and said—from which he had won most honey. He was methodical in all his ways, and never in a hurry: as the office always kept him into the small hours, he rose late, and during the hour which he devoted to dressing, successive volumes of the authors he loved best—with freely pencilled margins—took their turn upon the bookrest. Thus he kept old and valued friendships in repair, and frequently found themes or illustrations for the next day's article. His mind seemed always alert and ready to function, to receive or to produce impresions. Seldom has any Editor contributed more copiously to the organ over which he presided, but late in life he assured me that he had never once found that side of the work laborious or irksome. Written or spoken, his thoughts flowed in an easy stream, and the manuscript hardly needed an erasure. Without flash or epigram, his language was conspicuous for propriety and ease; anything like vulgarity or affectation jarred on his canons of good taste. He cultivated every kind of intercourse, and the habit of forming judgments, and giving them clear-cut expression, became second nature to him; experience brought the self-possession and *aplomb*, which make so much for editorial success.

Under his guidance, and on his sole initiative, the *Daily Post* exploited two departments, which gave it a distinctive physiognomy among provincial papers, considered appreciations of the pulpit and the stage; through them the Editor aspired to guide and elevate contemporary taste; and his influence extended far beyond Liverpool, where for years he gave the cues for intelligent discussion. He kept eagerly upon the watch for budding promise, even in its immature or undisciplined phases; and on the other hand never allowed popular applause to deflect criticism of what seemed to him culpable or curable defects. It was a life-long pleasure to him to have been perhaps the foremost in discovering and commending the gifts of Henry Irving. Similarly with the pulpit; it became a hobby from which he extracted as keen enjoyment as from the stage; it had a regular place in his excursions to London, and among his holiday recreations. His appetite for sermons was unflagging. On a visit to Edinburgh he casually records attendance at four sermons on a single Sabbath—Old Kirk, U.P., Free Church, and Episcopalian. If any preacher of mark, whatever his denomination, visited Liverpool, the following week's *Post* was likely to contain a discriminating review of his qualities, his message, his shortcomings, from the pen of the Editor. He kept on terms of cordial intimacy with the leading representatives of all denominations—with John Watson, Charles Beard, Father Nugent, Stowell Brown, or C. F. Aked, as well

as with Anglicans of every school. It was his contribution towards reunion. In the same spirit he sought intercourse with serious Agnostics, or with those who could only partially associate themselves with Christian beliefs; he was the *doyen* of the Philalethians, a private Society formed for unfettered discussion of social and religious problems in the widest sense; he delighted in the atmosphere of free debate, and valued the contact which it gave him with the movements of University life in Liverpool. He was as courteous and attentive in listening, as he was clear and ready in response; it was a genuine pleasure to him to apprehend a point of view, particularly that of an opponent, as giving welcome stimulus to his own mental processes, and as touchstone to the soundness of his own synthesis. It was a satisfaction to him to hear and weigh the objections which could be brought, and to feel secure in his tenure of the positions he had so far attained. His general attitude was one of appreciative, rather than critical, detachment; he never played for a verbal victory, and to those who knew him it would have been almost impossible to imagine even a momentary loss of urbanity.

His fondness for preaching led him to try his own hand at the art. And it would be hard to name a work on Homiletics which a clergyman could more profitably peruse and 'digest' than his *Editor's Sermons*; largely because they are in much openly addressed from the pew to the pulpit, and not *vice versa*; and such volumes are among the rarest in our output of religious literature. As the layman's point of view upon the opportunities and methods of the pulpit, they are brim-full of suggestion. He was not an expert in systematic theology, nor had he more than sympathetic acquaintance with Higher Criticism: to him what mattered most was that religion should be vital, in touch with the actualities of life; and for this reason he deplored the 'Decay of Experimental Religion', though his own realisation of it moved on the lines of disposition and of conduct rather than of doctrinal formulas.

In his *Arrested Fugitives* (1912) he has a brief but striking paper on 'Practice and Preaching', and two other papers on 'The Right Use of Sacred Literature' and 'Open Communion' respectively, which breathe a spirit of deep piety and ripe wisdom.

Personally, he was a staunch and devoted Churchman: the Church of England was to him the most comprehensive as well as historic expression of the English genius for religion, fraught with hereditary consecrations of inestimable value for the solidarity of the national life. He was a thoughtful and ardent admirer of her liturgies and forms of worship; the one thing

against which he revolted was the crude and contentious rhetoric of the Athanasian Creed. At some points, for instance in Sunday observance, he was almost stiffly punctilious : for himself he consistently declined Sunday engagements or distractions, and held that few, if any, could afford to forego the weekly opportunity of Christian fellowship in worship and interior spiritual 'recollection' ; it seemed to him a necessary antidote to spiritual atrophy.

CANON GERALD HENRY RENDALL

THE death in 1945 of Gerald Henry Rendall, B.D., Litt.D., Ll.D., at Dedham House, Essex, in his ninety-fourth year, deprived the M.C.U. of one who gave it loyal service in the academic world of which he was a distinguished member. Like Hastings Rashdall, he was head boy of Harrow in the great headmastership of Montagu Butler. He became a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Hulsean Prizeman. He passed thence to become Principal of University College, Liverpool, and Vice-Chancellor of Victoria University. Next he became Headmaster of Charterhouse (1897-1911). Here his prime interest was in the teaching of the classics and he maintained that the level reached in the classics in the great Public Schools of England was considerably above the level of classical scholarship in German schools. He produced a number of New Testament and classical commentaries, the best known of which is *Marcus Aurelius to Himself*, published in the Golden Treasury, 1911. The most interesting of his New Testament studies is *The Epistle of James and Judaic Christianity*, 1927. He was much interested in the literary problems presented in *Shakespeare's Sonnets*.

H.D.A.M.

JOHN WILLIAM WALKER, 1859—1953

J. W. WALKER, O.B.E., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., to whom we, as Modern Churchmen, owe much, died on February 17, in his ninety-fourth year.

As a member for many years of the Council of the Modern Churchmen's Union, he served our cause with unselfish loyalty. He never missed attendance at our annual conferences and we are all conscious of the debt those conferences owe at the present time to his distinguished daughter, Irene Walker, F.R.Hist.

Soc., their honorary secretary. Not less devoted were his services as a governor of Ripon Hall.

Educated at Rossall and University College, London, J. W. Walker followed in the footsteps of his father, a distinguished surgeon of Wakefield, Yorkshire, and entered the medical profession. For thirty years as surgeon he served Clayton Hospital where his father had previously held the position of consulting surgeon. In the First World War he served in the Territorial Army with the rank of Captain in the R.A.M.C. and received the O.B.E. in recognition of his services.

Well-known as a very skilful surgeon (recognized in his own profession by his election in 1941 to the high honour of Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons) he was much more widely known as an archaeologist and antiquary. At the time of his death he was the oldest Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. A member of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society for over seventy years; its President for twenty-four years; he devoted himself to the extension of its permanent institutions, particularly its library, and to its educational organization. He founded the Wakefield Historic Society. He carried out excavations at Monk Bretton Priory and Sandal Castle, but his greatest archaeological research is enshrined in his massive volume *Wakefield: Its History and People* published in 1934 but re-published (revised and enlarged) in two volumes in 1939.

A Wakefield man himself, his family having dwelt there since the thirteenth century, there was nothing he did not know about its wonderful collection of antiquities of every kind—ecclesiastical, architectural, legal, civic, social. But his interest in architecture, monuments, painted glass, church furniture, etc., were not purely antiquarian. He possessed highly developed powers of aesthetic appreciation.

When he transferred his residence to Berkshire he and his daughter (M. I. Walker, F.R.Hist.Soc.) produced *Church Plate in Berkshire*—a record as comprehensive as it is minutely accurate and beautifully illustrated. This volume Queen Mary graciously permitted to be dedicated to her.

An unflinching Modern Churchman, opposed to superstition and to doctrinal and liturgical reaction, he had the greatest reverence for the Church of England and never hesitated to undertake services of every kind on her behalf.

During the First World War the curate at Chapelthorpe (Wakefield) was anxious 'to join up' but his Bishop objected. When at a Diocesan meeting Walker pleaded that clergy should be allowed to go, the Bishop threw out the challenge 'If Mr.

Walker will conduct the services at Chapelthorpe, I will let the curate go'.

Walker accepted the Bishop's challenge and in addition to civic and military duties took the services and preached Sunday by Sunday during the curate's war-time absence.

Architecturally his supreme reverence was concentrated on the English Parish Church. He wrote in the *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 1925 dealing with the 'Growth of our Old Parish Churches' :

> 'I claim for our English parish churches that they are the most interesting relics of the past which remain in our land, far more so than prehistoric antiquities like Stonehenge and Avebury, because the history of these latter is done and we have no share in it. They had their life in the far past; but it was over before what we know of history began, and we know them only as dead relics. Our parish churches, on the other hand, are still what they were when first built—living entities, and now, as then, people go to worship in them as they have done for may be fifteen centuries.' (p.1).

Nevertheless the breadth of his antiquarian research extended far outside our parish churches (as may be gathered from the following titles of some of his publications : *Wakefield Town Life in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (1924); *Sandal Castle* (1895); *Monk Bretton Priory* (1926); *The Saxon Earthworks of Lofthouse; The History of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society; Seventeenth-century History of Medicine in Yorkshire.*

In his old age Walker secured international fame as an antiquarian by proving, as the result of most intricate research, that the famous outlaw, Robin Hood, is no mere Jack the Giant Killer but a veritable historical personage who was born in Wakefield (Walker even identified the site of his house). Later Robin Hood became a domestic servant of Edward II, but returning to his old ways, met his death as the result of a potion administered to him by an ecclesiastical lady who seems to have anticipated the hospitable methods of the Borgias.

In Chapter I of the Second Edition of *Wakefield: Its History and People*, J. W. Walker cited a sentence which ought to be inscribed on his tomb :

> *'We shall have no To-morrow worth having without a Yesterday worth remembering.'*

His interment took place in Sandal Churchyard where many of his ancestors were buried. The Bishop of Wakefield and the Provost of Wakefield Cathedral officiated at the funeral service.

H.D.A.M.

JOHN TODD, M.A., F.S.A.

1886—1952

THE Modern Churchmen's Union comprises in its ranks a number of antiquarians, and it has recently lost a well-known member of this class by the death of John Todd, Rector of Waterstock and Vicar of Waterperry, who passed away on May 7.

A son of Northumbria, he became an exhibitioner of Hatfield College and Hebrew scholar of Durham University. After graduating in 1910 he was ordained, and having spent several years in parochial work became C.T.F. in the First World War. He was stationed at Salonika, later in Northern Italy after Caporetto and finally on the Western front. Here, from the ramparts of Ypres he witnessed the Kaiser's midnight assault on that fortress. After the Armistice he migrated to Hertford College, Oxford, where he graduated in the Honours School of Theology. Thence he went as lecturer in Divinity to Trinity College, Toronto, but returned to England in 1923 to become Rector of Waterstock and Vicar of Waterperry.

His war experience had roused in Todd an interest in the antiquities of the Mediterranean lands. This was greatly developed when Sir Henry Lunn appointed him Lecturer and Guide in connection with his Hellenic Tours. Todd's enthusiasm, united to his firm conviction in the absolute necessity of scientific research, thus secured a unique opportunity for its exercise. He came to know, as a result of personal inspection, every archaeological site worth visiting, ranging from Tadmore in the Syrian desert to Timgad in French North Africa.

'He is the best cosmopolite
Who loves his native land the best'

and it is by his archaeological researches in England, particularly in the vicinity of the Roman Wall, Hartlepool, his native city, his little Oxford parishes of Waterperry and Waterstock, and not least in the City of Oxford itself, that he is best known as an antiquarian.

In 1944 Todd was deservedly elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. The British Museum employed him to give lectures on the *Codex Sinaiticus* to crowds who came to see it after it had been acquired from the Bolshevik authorities of Leningrad for £100,000. In Hartlepool he made some remarkable discoveries which, although they discredited various venerable local traditions (especially those dealing with the Scottish hero, Robert Bruce), added not a little to the reputation of the discoverer.

Whilst abounding with antiquarian knowledge and the zeal to

impart it, both in lectures and conversation, it was only with the very greatest difficulty that he could be induced to write anything for publication. We are grateful, however, for nine articles from his pen published in the *Modern Churchman*. One of these, in view of the approaching coronation, entitled 'Is our King a layman?' (Vol. XXXIII, 1944, pp. 324-332), possesses a particular interest at the present time as the Salic Law does not prevail in Great Britain. Before his death Todd had completed, in conjunction with Professor Gask of London, an essay on the origin of hospitals to be included in a collection of essays, *Science, Medicine and History*, in honour of Professor Charles Singer, to be published later by the Oxford University Press. He had also in hand at the time of his death an article on the Cult of Æsculapius destined for the *Modern Churchman*.

Todd was essentially an educationist who delighted to dispel 'vulgar errors'. An amusing example of this were his 'Talks to American soldiers' on British freedom, intended to demonstrate that Great Britain had a much better right to be regarded as a 'free country' than has U.S.A. Although his lectures were intensely popular in their mode of delivery, yet they contained matter both of interest and value to the specialist. Accurate teaching demanded sound methods of research, and Todd counted no pains too great to secure the solution of an archaeological problem however minute. Perhaps none valued his exposition of his methods more than the teachers of those subjects with which he dealt. A testimony dealing with the effectiveness of Todd's work as a popular educationist, contributed by one of H.M. Inspectors, reflects the enthusiasm of his auditors—a great multitude:

> 'The students have, I know, by their manner and in their own words expressed in full measure to you the best thanks that any teacher can receive. I feel sure that what you have done will be spread by your pupils among a large number of young people. You are "the father of us all. I hope that you will be proud of your family".'

Oxford University appointed him to give lectures on the antiquities of Oxford to conferences of visiting teachers. A favourite theme of his was 'History through the Parish Church', and anyone who was fortunate enough to have him as their guide in 'going round' his Parish Church at Waterperry treasured a memorable experience. The account of the antiquities of that ancient little church, and Todd's own adventures in discovery and the unravelling of its archaeological problems was something never to be forgotten—what was forgotten was the passage of time. Even schoolboys missed their tea time without being conscious of the fact.

Dr. Hassall, the Keeper of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library, in a personal letter which must be cited in full, thus records Todd's contribution to archaeology in Oxfordshire:

> 'He was a zealous student of local history, a member of the Oxfordshire Record Society who did much to make known to his less learned neighbours those facts about the past of South Oxfordshire which he discovered. He was a regular attendant at the meetings of the working committee of the Oxfordshire Victoria County History and had started to write histories of his own parishes and other places nearby. His consciousness of ill-health forced him to abandon the hope of finishing these histories, but in handing over his collections to younger hands he generously promised to give all help in his power to his successors. Only those who have a personal knowledge of his scholarly conscience and generosity in putting his time and skill at the disposal of others can have any conception of the loss which his death must mean to those who enjoyed his help.

So far we have stressed the contribution made to local archaeology and its educational value by this 'country parson'. Country parsons are often tempted to complain of the uninteresting character of their environment and the little they can do educationally for their uneducated parishioners. John Todd's life was an example of a rural clergyman who thought and acted otherwise.

But, it may be asked: Where did Todd's service to the cause of Modern Churchmanship come in? He did his best to give modern practical teaching to his tiny congregations, but he also strove to modernize the Occasional Offices in our Prayer Book. He received his reward for his modernized service of Infant Baptism when a good mother after its use said to him. 'I have had five done but this is the first time I ever knew what they was doing'.

In Ripon Hall, Todd lectured on church antiquities, and tutored in Hebrew those students who dared to venture into the world of Semitic philology. At clerical meetings his zeal for truth inspired him to frank and fearless condemnation of fanatical superstition and tyrannical obscurantism. Doubtless there were occasions when he would have done well to have given heed to Talleyrand's advice: '*Surtout, point de zèle*'—but the *façon de parler* of the Quai d'Orsay is not that of Northumbria.

H.D.A.M.

TWO NOTABLE ENGLISH MODERNISTS

BURNETT HILLMAN STREETER
1875—1937

The aeroplane crash in which Burnett Hillman Streeter ended his mortal life deprived the Modernist Movement in the English Church of one of its greatest personalities. Streeter's life was a succession of successes. It would seem that everything which he set out to accomplish he achieved. As a young man he secured three Firsts in the Oxford Honours Schools and became Fellow

of Queen's College, and ultimately Provost. He held the Ireland Professorship of Exegesis and delivered both the Bampton and Warburton Lectures, and was elected a Fellow of the British Academy. In his earlier years, as an Oxford Tutor, he owed much to William Sanday, of whose Seminar on the Gospels he was a member. This led to the inclusion of two of his Essays in Sanday's valuable volume *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*. Streeter leapt into fame with the publication of *Foundations* in 1912, a volume of Essays dealing with Christian problems in the light of modern research. The seven essayists were Oxford scholars of the younger generation, and included William Temple, A. E. J. Rawlinson R. G. Parsons and Neville Talbot, who have since become bishops. Streeter edited the volume and also contributed its most courageous essay, 'The Historic Christ.' It caused a considerable stir, though less than that aroused by *Lux Mundi* and *Essays and Reviews,* its lineal ancestors. Streeter's views were deplored in ecclesiastical circles, and he lost an examining chaplaincy or two. Nevertheless Dr. Gore, who was then Bishop of Oxford, dared not accept Streeter's deliberate challenge any more than when he was Bishop of Birmingham he accepted that of Canon Hensley Henson. But John Percival, Bishop of Hereford, who feared the face of man as little as did John Knox, appointed Streeter a Canon Residentiary of Hereford in company with those other notable Modernists, Hastings Rashdall and A. L. Lilley. Streeter's duties in Hereford did not prevent him carrying on his influential educational work in Oxford, which became increasingly important owing to the resignation and death of Dr. Sanday.

As a Churchman, bent on modernizing the theology and spirit of the English Church, Streeter exhibited remarkable gifts of ecclesiastical strategy which, had he become a Bishop, still more an Archbishop, might have revolutionized our Church policy. He understood the arts of co-operation and leadership and had a quick eye for potential contacts and new lines of advance. The Church of England, however, had no post of influence to offer one so influential in his own College and University and in the religious world at home and beyond the seas.

Streeter, who loved students and was deeply interested in the Student Christian Movement, made several tours to the Far East, where his addresses and lectures as a Christian apologist were much appreciated by Chinese, Japanese and Indian students. The effect of this contact with the religious life of the Far East bore fruit in Streeter's Bampton Lectures, *The Buddha and the Christ,* which present the claims of Christianity as *the* religion of life. It was this close contact with young Christian students and their intellectual and moral difficulties which led Streeter to write his two most valuable volumes of modern Christian apologetic, *Reality* and *Adventure.* These two volumes had been preceded by three others, *Concerning Prayer, Immortality,* and *The Spirit,* written in co-operation with Cyril Emett, Lily Dougall, Clutton Brock and others, and published during the period of the Great War. These five volumes of Christian apologetic have proved of immense service to thousands who, anxious to retain the Christian values and to lead the Christian life, were unable without discerning and courageous Chrisitian leadership to overcome the well-nigh insuperable difficulties presented by traditional dogmas and conventional views. Undoubtedly Streeter's greatest book is *The Four Gospels,* as learned and judicious as it was fresh and original. It was this contribution to sound learning that secured his election to the British Academy.

As a Vice-President of the Modern Churchmen's Union and a Governor of Ripon Hall, Streeter was always ready when called upon to give practical help to Modernist activities, but he declined to waste his precious time in attending meetings concerned merely with pedestrian routine. The last paper

he read at a Modern Churchmen's Conference was at Birmingham in 1934, when he dealt with 'Modern Criticism and the Synoptic Gospels.'

In 1934 Streeter came into close contact with the Group Movement. This was thoroughly characteristic of him. In the Group Movement he recognized, as in the Student Christian Movement, a form of Christian activity promising great results if properly handled. He never went into any movement without a clear idea of what that movement ought to achieve and of the part which he might play in helping it to accomplish its end. He recognized that perhaps the greatest need of the Group Movement was a sound modern theology of a simple and convincing type such as could be understood by and appeal to the ordinary man and woman. This Streeter attempted to provide in his Warburton Lecture, *The God Who Speaks*.

His personality was as influential as his writings. He had a genius for friendship. For him, life was fellowship. He was full of shrewd insight and excellent humour. He possessed great practical gifts: his reconstitution of the Chained Library at Hereford Cathedral is a good example of this, and those who know his college life could furnish many others. But Streeter never forgot the main purpose of his life, which was that of a pastor of souls. How far he was from the dry-as-dust don, if such a person exists, is shewn by his writing a little book of moral and spiritual guidance for those taking the Oxford University examinations. For him the natural and the spiritual, the theoretical and the practical, in human life were one. He was no departmental man, but all round and many-sided, and it was this which accounts for his beneficial influence on all sorts and conditions of men and his readiness to be influenced by them, whether by the Sadhu or by Dr. Buchman. But though influenced, neither men nor theories could sweep him off his feet. In his Gospel studies he was as unable to adopt the extremes of Schweitzerian eschatology as he was to yield to much of the literary scepticism of the Form Critics.

H.D.A.M.

HUGH RICHARD LAWRIE SHEPPARD

1880—1937

By the death of Hugh Richard Lawrie Sheppard, D.D., Companion of Honour, Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, on the Eve of All Saints' Day, the Modernist cause has lost a supporter, not less influential, but entirely different from Canon Streeter. Canon Sheppard was not a scholar. He was the most popular preacher in England and perhaps the ablest parish priest. Although a Cambridge man, he became Head of Oxford House, and a few years later Rector of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square. At St. Martin's he found a sparse congregation and the minimum of parochial organization. Most clergymen in his position would have felt that as much was being accomplished as the circumstances permitted. The new rector's outlook was very different. By methods peculiarly his own, dependent as much upon his courage and originality as upon his extraordinary personal attractiveness, he built up a great and many-sided parochial organization: he filled St. Martin's to overflowing: he made it the best known parish in the British Empire and beyond. We remember witnessing in 1926 the attempt of the authorities of the pro-cathedral in Boston, Mass., to develop parochial activities on the lines of St. Martin's.

Dr. Sheppard was modernist in the very best sense of that term. He shewed this in the great breadth of his outlook, which was world-wide and

forward glancing; in his many-sided sympathy, which was as intensely sincere as it was sensitive and laid on him immense burdens of nervous strain and self-sacrificing service. His letters were as amazing in their number as in their quality. It was, we suppose, his combination of insight and sensitiveness which enabled him to say the most difficult things in the supremely right way. His initiative and intrepidity were equally characteristic. He was the first clergyman, amid much criticism, to use the wireless to broadcast religious services. He opened his church day and night for all sorts and conditions of people, to be used not simply as a place of devotion but also as a place of shelter and rest. His Churchmanship was truly Catholic because it was essentially Christian. It recognized no denominational limitations whether doctrinal or sacramental. His parish magazine, *St. Martin's Review,* had none of the characteristics unfortunately possessed by parish magazines, but was from the first a most readable, enlightening, stimulating journal, read far beyond the sound of the bells of St. Martin's.

Canon Sheppard was for many years a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union, and wrote to its Editor: 'It is a constant joke in my home that on the day when the *Modern Churchman* arrives each month I am practically out of action for normal affairs. . . .' On another occasion he brought the blushes of ingenuous shame to the Editor's cheek by thanking him for the 'Christian manner in which you wage your necessary controversies.' Quite recently Canon Sheppard, while retaining his membership, resigned his vice-presidency of the M.C.U. on the ground of the attitude of the *Modern Churchman* towards pacifism.

Pacifism for Canon Sheppard became as the years advanced the dominating interest of his life. He would have given his own life many times over to promote it. There can be few British people, unwillingly compelled to oppose pacifism, who have not honoured Canon Sheppard for the part he played in striving to advance it.

He took a prominent, indeed a leading, part in the rise and triumph of the 'Life and Liberty Movement,' but lived long enough to deplore many of the effects of his policy.

There was no position which he held that he did not adorn, ranging from the Chaplaincy of the Cavendish Club to the Deanery of Canterbury. There never has been an English clergyman more truly popular. We remember on a Sunday evening the normal frequenters of a country public-house sitting bare-headed in the bar listening to one of his wireless sermons. On another occasion we were rebuked by a printer whose ignorance we had assumed with the words, 'Sir, we all know Canon Sheppard.'

As an author his writings are not likely to be read in the years to come. They were directed to existing Church situations, but they carried weight mainly with those people who have no control of Church affairs—the growing multitude of indifferent and disgruntled Church folk. Some 90,000 copies of *The Impatience of a Parson* were sold within a few months of its publication, and we recall the case of a library in a small country town in which this book was the only religious work kept for circulation amid a mass of fiction.

No death, save that of a sovereign or a great political leader, can have brought a deeper sense of loss to British people than the death of 'Dick Sheppard.'

Pat McCormack who succeeded him as vicar of St. Martin's was in his turn succeeded by a member of the Council of the M.C.U. and a student of Ripon Hall, Eric Stephen Loveday who died on a preaching tour in Australia.

H.D.A.M.

SAINT JOHN LUBBOCK

FEAST DAY: AUGUST BANK HOLIDAY

SIR John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., D.C.L., Ll.D., President of the London Chamber of Commerce, Principal of the London Working Man's College, was one of the founders of the Modern Churchmen's Union. His life after his graduation at Trinity College, Cambridge, was one of incessant occupation. He was the Head of a great banking business in the city of London, a distinguished scientist; who contributed at least sixteen papers to the Royal Society: devoted to the advancement of popular education, especially in the form of mechanics' institutes and adult schools. His ideals in this sphere were most comprehensive.

Two little books which he produced in this department are well worth reading even to-day. They are: *The Pleasures of Life*, 1889, and *The Use of Life*, 1896. Both are published by Macmillans.

His religious convictions are succinctly expounded in *The Use of Life* (chapter xix). He writes:

> 'Theology and Dogma are the science, but not the essence of Religion'. (p. 189).
>
> 'Christianity does not call on us to sacrifice this world in order to secure the next. On the contrary, "to love that which is commanded and desire that which is promised" would add to our happiness here as well as hereafter. . . . For religion consecrates daily life.' (p. 194).

This aspect of the Christian Religion is developed in Sir John Lubbock's two chapters: 'The Duty of Happiness' and 'The Happiness of Duty' in his volume *The Pleasures of Life*.

It may be of interest to add here that to another member of the Modern Churchmen's Union we owe our 'Summer Time'.

JOSEPH WELLINGTON HUNKIN

M.C. (BAR), O.B.E., D.D.

THE Modernist cause has sustained a most serious loss by the sudden death (1950) at the age of sixty-three of Dr. Hunkin, Bishop of Truro, Warden of Ripon Hall, Oxford, and Vice-President of the Modern Churchmen's Union. Born at Truro, educated at the Leys School and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, of which latter, after a distinguished University career in mathematics and theology, he became Fellow and Dean. By ancestry a Methodist, the son of a devoted local preacher, he was ordained in the Church of England in 1913 and served with great distinction as Chaplain at Gallipoli and on the Western Front.

In his capacity as chaplain his popularity was equalled by his gallantry: 'he was always in the front line'. His services were recognized by his being awarded the M.C. (with bar) and O.B.E. He was appointed Chaplain to H.M. George V from 1926-35, who appreciated his simplicity of manner, geniality, strong commonsense and courage. On retiring from academic life he was appointed Rector of Rugby and Archdeacon of Coventry. Conscientious, strenuous and pastoral in spirit, he was much valued by his parishioners (and not least by the masters of Rugby School).

In 1935 he was appointed the eighth Bishop of Truro in succession to Dr. Frere. Although the first Cornishman to be Bishop of Truro he had had two very notable Cornish predecessors on the English Bench—Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Baronet, surnamed the 'spiritual dragoon', one of the Seven Bishops sent to the Tower by James II. Trelawney had two characteristics in common with Hunkin—dashing courage and immense popularity with Cornishmen.

Hunkin's other Cornish episcopal predecessor was Colenso—'the bravest of the brave'—who as a bishop achieved the maximum of unpopularity throughout the whole Anglican Communion as well as in his own diocese of Natal, due in the former case to his Pentateuchal researches necessitated by his translating the Bible into Zulu and in the latter case due to his unflinching efforts to protect the rights and lands of the native people against the aggression of white colonists.

In moral courage Hunkin was a worthy disciple of Colenso, not simply in his loyalty to the achievements of modern Biblical and historical criticism, but also in his fearlessness of speech where other bishops were content to remain silent. In the House of Lords he not only defended the infliction of capital punishment on wilful murderers but advocated its infliction on those who perpetrated brutal assaults on defenceless victims who had not succumbed.

Hunkin's interests, however, extended beyond the ecclesiastical sphere. He was a great lover of good literature, especially fine poetry. He was also a great lover of nature, and here his particular interests were botanical—flowering shrubs. In the history of horticulture and aboriculture in his native county he became a great authority, and his articles on these themes in the Press roused the widest interest.

As a Modernist teacher he did his full share of educational work not only by his sermons and addresses but by the publication of a number of clear, concise and convincing books and booklets on the problems of Christian faith and practice in the modern

world. Of his books we would particularly commend *The Gospel for To-morrow*, now published as a Penguin. Its scope is well expressed in its prefatory note :

> 'Many attempts are being made to re-state the essentials of Religion in the light of modern knowledge and in the language of to-day. But most of them are not thorough enough. Research has not only discovered fresh evidence but has also developed an improved technique for dealing with it. Modern thought has been moving rapidly. Religious thought has been moving too; but not fast enough to keep up. Religion is not a mere delusion. Its concern is with reality. But the expression of Religion is encumbered with much that is obsolete, sophisticated, and illusory. Absolute Truth may be beyond us, but we must get as near the Truth as we can. Religious societies and institutions must be forward-looking and forward-moving. Else, as mankind moves on, they will just drop into insignificance, and the world will one day wake with a start to discover and mourn their loss. For the spiritual inheritance which they have preserved contains much that is of the greatest value to the human race; and a united and sustained effort should be made to sift this out and make it available for posterity.'

From the list of his books in *Crockford* there is one omitted which deserves a place among modern Anglican books of devotion, *The Hill of the Lord*—'a little guide' to the Service of Holy Communion.

H.D.A.M.

ERNEST ARTHUR EDGHILL

THE news of the death of the Rev. E. A. Edghill from a malignant form of blood poisoning brought on by an accident when in camp with his boy scouts, has come to many as a painful shock.

Educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, Mr. Edghill had a brilliant academic career, being placed in the first class in the Classical and Theological Triposes and gaining the Bell, Stewart of Rannoch, and Crosse Scholarships, and the Jeremie, Scholefield, Carus, Hulsean, Kaye and Norrisian prizes. He took the London B.D. (Honours) Degree in 1906, two years after his ordination, and published four volumes, *The Evidential Value of Prophecy*, 1905; *Faith and Fact*, 1910; *The Spirit of* Power, 1910; *The Revelation of the Son of God*, 1911. The last of these being the Hulsean Lectures for 1910-11, a valuable and open minded defence of the Christian religion.

He discharged his clerical duties with the same diligence and energy which marked his student life. Since 1909 his ministerial work has lain in South London, chiefly in connection with Southwark Cathedral. Here the splendid enthusiasm and self-sacrifice

which marked his social work, especially among poor boys, endeared him to many, and it was in serving them that he lost his life.

In the *Southwark Diocesan Chronicle*, in its special supplement, the new Bishop (Burge) gives him unstinted praise.

> 'My own acquaintance with him first began when he was a boy at Eton, and I examined him in the competition for the Newcastle Scholarship. I was very much struck with his abilities, and took the opportunity of a walk and talk with him in the Eton playing-fields after the examination was over. We next met in the Borough last year. His life in the interval had been very full; he had read much, he had thought much, he had achieved much, he had loved much, and his life all through had been full of great promise and possibilities. That he seemed to be often too impulsive, too eager to catch up new ideas, too easily carried away by them, only means that he was still gloriously young, alert in interest and intelligence, alive with appreciation, and intensely devoted to the work and cause of the Church of Christ. I do not suppose that it would be possible to name anyone of our younger clergy who had been more deeply convinced than he was of what the Church might do in the face of the trials and difficulties of our time, more zealous in fulfilling his vocation, or more richly endowed with rare gifts. And he loved to spend, and to be spent, in work for our Diocese. If it were not for our unfaltering trust in our Father's wisdom and love, we should indeed feel that we have been robbed of more than we have been given. Perchance we are meant to take to heart our own failure to use the gift of these good lives and good examples with the wisdom and the love that God expects of us.'

Mr. Edghill from being formerly what would be called a strong High Churchman had recently by a very natural transition for one endowed with his powers of head and heart passed into the ranks of liberal Churchmanship. Although not accepting, so we understand, the views of the Rev. J. M. Thompson, yet he was of opinion, like all liberal Churchmen, that Mr. Thompson was justified in publishing the result of his critical and historical studies in connection with the miracles of the New Testament, and therefore that he ought not to have been penalised by the Bishops of Winchester and Oxford. Moreover, Mr. Edghill was convinced that the basing of the truth of the Christian Religion upon the historical character of the New Testament miracles was a profound apologetic mistake, and one which, with his ardent devotion to Christianity, he felt compelled to resist. In consequence, he did not hesitate with characteristic fearlessness and sincerity to express his conviction publicly, and he allowed a similar view to appear in the magazine *London Bridge* of which he was the editor. This led to his being denounced by Bishop Talbot and Bishop Gore and he was compelled to resign the sub-wardenship of St. Saviour's College, Southwark. At the Annual Meeting of the Churchmen's Union, he delivered a spirited address in defence of

his Liberal position published in our July number (1912) under the title 'Terror of the Truth'.

A few weeks before his death the writer of this notice received a letter from him which concluded with this paragraph:

> 'But the fact is—well, the Church simply seems to have no kind of use for me—and I must work like other people to get mine own living, and also to help to keep my little hostel afloat.
>
> 'I feel *most deeply* the cutting off of all ministerial opportunities. I had hoped to serve the Church with all my heart and mind all my days: but now I might almost as well have never been ordained! It is an abiding and a bitter grief.'
>
> H.D.A.M.

LORD CHARNWOOD

BY the death of Lord Charnwood in 1945, the Modern Churchmen's Union has lost one of its oldest Vice-Presidents. Godfrey Rathbone Benson, educated at Winchester and Oxford, after a brilliant academic career became Tutor of Balliol. He next became Liberal M.P. and received his peerage on the advice of Mr. Asquith. As a writer he became known in the sphere of biography—his Life of Abraham Lincoln secured for him fame in the Old World and in the New. Lord Charnwood was a devoted Churchman and social worker and carried weight behind the scenes with the Church authorities. He was a trusted friend of Archbishop Davidson, and largely under his influence and in loyalty to the episcopate and to the support given by the Church Assembly he—unlike the bulk of Liberal Churchmen—voted for the Revised Prayer Book of 1928, known as the *Deposited Book*. When, however, the House of Commons twice rejected the Prayer Book measure, and the bishops and Church leaders charged Parliament with Erastian tyranny, the strength of Lord Charnwood's Liberal principles became manifest. He pointed out that Parliament had acted constitutionally and in accordance with the exercise of rights to which the bishops themselves had agreed when the Church Powers Bill became law. He also pointed out that further investigation had proved to him that the House of Laymen in the Church Assembly was a poor representative of the views and convictions of the English laity in comparison with the House of Commons, and that it was the vote of the House of Commons on the Prayer Book issue and not the vote of the House of Laymen which really represented English lay feeling.

Lord Charnwood was further convinced that the House of Laymen, as at present elected, could never become truly representative of the English laity. The attention of the bishops has

been for some years past directed to this serious weakness in our Church system, but so far they have failed to take any effective steps to remedy it. Until the Bishops achieve this constitutional reform, they must be content to accept the decisions of the House of Commons in Church matters as the most representative expression of English lay feeling.

He married a grand-daughter of Mr. Mundella, a notable Victorian politician. The marriage was an ideal one, and the happiness which it brought to Lady Charnwood is delightfully indicated in her charming volume *Call Back Yesterday*, published in 1937.

H.D.A.M.

CAPTAIN THE REV. LANCELOT RAIMES

BY the death of Lancelot Raimes, who fell in France on the first of June, 1916, the Church militant has lost a devoted son, and the Churchmen's Union an enthusiastic and self-sacrificing member.

Captain Raimes was educated at the Leys School, to whose manly Christian tone he owed much. Later he entered Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1909, obtaining a second class in the Mediaeval and Modern Languages Tripos. He then spent a year at Ripon Clergy College, and was ordained in 1911 in the St. Alban's Diocese, becoming curate to the Rev. William Manning, Rector of Chipping Barnet. There he served most usefully and happily until the outbreak of the war.

When *Yesterday, To-day, and For Ever*, the Liberal Churchman's parish magazine was founded, he very unselfishly became co-editor and contributed a number of excellent articles during the brief year of its existence. His wide acquaintance with the best modern literature and his knowledge of how to use it, made him a helpful modern preacher, but what served him in even better stead in his sacred office, was his sweetness of disposition, his unaffected simplicity of manner, his whole-hearted devotion to the welfare of those with whom he was brought into contact. His Rector, whose heart he won, writes in warm appreciation of his parish work, and with something more than appreciation of the worker :—

> 'In the parish of Chipping Barnet he did good work, especially among the young men, that will long be remembered with thankfulness. But he will live in the hearts and minds of all who knew him more by what he was than even by what he did. Everyone loved Raimes. He was cheery and bright and good. He was like a breath of God's mountain air. People

felt that he was a man that happened to be a parson, and not a parson who happened to be a man, and that his goodness came from contact with a Source that he never talked about, and yet no one could ever doubt what that Source was.

'In 1914, when he was away on a holiday, the Colonel of the 5th Durham Light Infantry, in which Raimes had held a commission previous to his ordination, asked him to conduct the funeral of the first of their men to die since the outbreak of war. When the coffin was brought to the graveside, Raimes found that the dead man was the one who had taken his place in the battalion, and upon the coffin was the sword that had been his own. For Raimes that was enough. It was a call; and he was 'not disobedient unto the heavenly vision.'

'For twenty months he was training men at home, and although not a Chaplain but a combatant, he was often asked to conduct services and was always ministering to the spiritual welfare of his men. Then, after three weeks at the front, came the news of his death: *Sed miles . . . et pro patria.*'

CHARLES FRANK RUSSELL

1882—1951

ALMOST unnoticed by the Church press, there passed away in Lent of this year Charles Frank Russell, a very able, unflnchingly consistent and loyal supporter of the Modernist cause in the Church of England.

Ordained in 1907 as Chaplain and Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, he spent his whole life until his retirement from the Headmastership of the Merchant Taylors School, Great Crosby, in 1942, as a devoted educationist. A Wrangler (1st class, Parts I and II Maths. Tripos) and Smith's Prizeman, he began his educational career as a mathematical tutor. Resigning his Cambridge Fellowship in 1912, he became Assistant Master at Harrow (1911-1918) and later Headmaster of King Edward VI School, Southampton (1918-1929). Himself a clergyman, the son of a clergyman and the son-in-law of a clergyman, his interest in the study and teaching of Religon developed as a most important part of his educational work. Four times Select Preacher before the University of Cambridge, his Hulsean Lectures, *Religion and Natural Law*, published in 1923 (Blackwell), consttute his most important contribution to academic theology. Its four lectures:

I. The Doctrine of the Trinity as the Charter of the Right of Free Investigation
II. The Doctrine of Providence
III. The Doctrines of Punishment and Forgiveness
IV. The Doctrine of Atonement and the Problem of Suffering,

possess even more significance for our national religion to-day than when delivered. Their scope and temper are indicated by the following extracts from the Preface:

> 'The lectures are addressed to all men and women . . . who, while they realise the imperative necessity of religion, are yet unwilling to accept Christianity whole-heartedly because (as it seems to them) it fails to come to terms with that scientific point of view which is the most insistent factor in the intellectual attitude of thoughtful people to-day . . . I have tried, in the case of certain fundamental Christian doctrines, to show why I believe that a man may still hold them in this twentieth century without surrendering in the least degree his passion for intellectual honesty or his determination to follow truth wherever it may lead. It is supposed in some quarters that the work of the modernist is simply destructive; I am bold enough to hope that my readers will find in this book one more piece of evidence which gives the lie to that most unjust opinion.'

Russell's whole treatment of his themes is clear, cool, concise, marked by complete absence of emotionalism, exaggeration and provocative diatribe. His Hulseans breathe the spirit of Cambridge science.

The only public recognition of his services Russell received from the Church authorities was his inclusion as a member of the Commission on Christian Doctrine appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, 1922-1938, to deal with the doctrinal situation brought to light by the Conference of Modern Churchmen at Girton in 1921.

Dr. Burge, Bishop of Oxford and Warden of Ripon Hall, when the appointment of such a Commission was being discussed, urged in a letter to Archbishop Randall Davidson that the Church through its authorities should deliberately set itself

> 'to decide, in the light of the controversies and criticisms which distract and dishearten so many of its members, and in the light of its own development, where it now stands—and I think the Committee would say that in this way and this way alone would you be able to make the position and the policy of those in authority, what at present it is *not,* intelligible and consistent and convincing.' (*Life of Randall Davidson,* by G. K. A. Bell; p. 1139).

To this task Russell, as a member of the Archbishops' Commission, gave unstinted and invaluable service. He stood unswervingly for the realization within the Church of the ideal of a doctrinal discipline and unity based on '*a free consensus as distinct from an enforced uniformity*'. (*Doctrinal Report*, p. 39.)

Russell was a most influential member of the Modern Churchmen's Union. His first article in the *Modern Churchman* on 'Divine Providence' was published in May, 1913, and his last article, 'Love and Force', appeared in the *Modern Churchman* Conference Number of November, 1947.

H.D.A.M.

G. L. H. HARVEY

G. L. H. Harvey, Vice-President of the Modern Churchmen's Union and Vicar of St. Stythians, Cornwall, passed away on May 13, 1948, after a long and painful illness borne with unflinching fortitude and considerate cheerfulness.

A son of the Rev. George Harvey, Vicar of St. Zennor, Cornwall, he graduated at Wadham College, Oxford, spent a year at Ripon Clergy College, and was ordained in 1905. In the First World War he served as a T.C.F. for a couple of years; he then joined up as a combatant, enlisting in the ranks, and became a Second Lieutenant in the Green Howards. He went through much of the fighting on the Somme. After the armistice, 1918, he returned to clerical life and held a large number of cures, the most important being Rector of Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham (1931-1944).

He was a stalwart and judicious Modernist and made two able contributions on behalf of theological and ecclesiastical Liberalism in the Church of England. These were *The Church and the Twentieth Century*,[1] a volume of essays of which he was editor and to which he contributed *Nova et Vetera*, we venture to think the ablest essay in the volume. His other contribution, slighter in form but of greater practical importance, dealt with the marriage of divorced persons.[2] In this he maintained that the action of Convocation in prohibiting the clergy from marrying anyone who had a divorced partner alive, was legally *ultra vires*. The ultimate decision in such a case rests, not with Convocation, but with the parochial incumbent.

On his deathbed he wrote a long letter to the writer of this obituary notice, expressing characteristic convictions and reflections which we are sure his personal friends will value. He wrote:

> 'Since the day my doctor frankly admitted my situation I have experienced a new peace and happiness. . . .
>
> 'In my present condition I cannot but, so far as I can judge, be honest with myself. I have no longing for a future life, and indeed do not count myself worthy of the Resurrection. All this I willingly leave to the will of the God who is Love. As you know, I have long been under the influence of Tennant. His teaching has stood the test of my long illness. He finds the basis of faith in the creation as we experience it, without any confusion of creation and Creator. His argument from the rationality of the creation, though I acknowledge its power and validity, does not seem to me germane to my present situation. On the other hand his argument from the world's beauty and its function as a vale of soul-making appeals to me with an enhanced power. My bed is on the ground

[1] Macmillan, 1936.

[2] *The Clergy and Marriage of the Divorced.* M.C.U., Steeple Claydon Vicarage, Bletchley, Bucks; 1/3.

floor in front of a large window and I look out on a lawn surrounded with shrubs and backed by trees in which there is a rookery. I also have a good view of a considerable expanse of sky. At times my sense of beauty seems intensified far beyond the normal. At such times the loveliness of the creation speaks to me very clearly of the Creator. My room is supplied with flowers, and in particular, a tiny bowl of small wood-anemones gives me the same kind of message. All this, for which I am deeply grateful, seems strange, as I should not have said that I was specially sensitive in the aesthetic sphere.

'My perception of the world as "a vale of soul-making" is closely bound up with an intense realization of the unearned and undeserved affection and friendship which have been my lot. I wonder whether we clergy at all realize how richly we receive in this respect? Looking back, I think that we are altogether too reserved. A world which is so rich in love and friendship is in that aspect a "vale of soul-making." Of course there are many other aspects of that tremendous fact; but it is on that aspect that I dwell as I lie here and think of the kindnesses I have received so generously in past years. A friend sent me an inscription he found on a sun-dial:

"Time is
Too slow for those who wait;
Too swift for those who fear;
Too long for those who grieve;
Too short for those who rejoice;
But for those who love—
Time is Eternity."

H.D.A.M.

REV. E. J. KELSALL

The Rev. L. Elliott Binns, the preacher of the concluding sermon at the Modern Churchmen's Conference (Oxford 1926), summoned the Modernists 'to leave their academic groves and intellectual fastnesses and to invade the parishes'.

This challenging invitation is based upon a misconception. For one Modernist clerical don in a University fastness, there are to-day twenty Modernist parish priests.

Anyone by consulting the list of members of the Churchmen's Union can see that members of that Union at present have charge of some notable town parishes in which good work is being done. Equally good work is being done in country parishes. Because he has recently left us, we venture to refer to one such by name, the Rev. J. E. Kelsall, M.A., F.L.S., Rector of Milton from 1897 to 1924. A volume of his sermons, *The Child Enthroned,*[1] has just been published. It is an admirable example of Modernist teaching given to normal English congregations. A trained theologian or a strong Traditionalist would recognize its Modernism. The ordinary man would not.

Our reference to Mr. Kelsall in the *Modern Churchman* elicited the following letter from Canon Goudge, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford:

To the Editor of the *Modern Churchman.*

Sir,

I see that you refer in the Conference Number of the *Modern Churchman* to the Rev. J. E. Kelsall, Rector of Milton, as an example of the good work done by Modernists in country parishes. I do not think that you could possibly

[1] Nisbet & Co., London (1925).

have given a better example. A great friend of mine was for some years his curate, and I have had of late a holiday bungalow in his parish. Perhaps your readers may like to know a little more about him.

I do not think that I have ever known a country clergyman more universally liked and respected. People of all classes have spoken to me of him in exactly the same way. His unique characteristic was this: Not only had he an extraordinarily wide range of interests, but, instead of these things taking him away from his duties as a parish priest, he turned them all to account. He was a musician, and he used music in his services with admirable judgment. He was a botanist, and he taught his parishioners botany. He was a French scholar, and he taught French and took parties of his parishioners over to France, I think, more than once to practise their French. He seemed to me all the better a parish priest because he was an educator as well. He had bad health, and, when I knew him, was often, I fear, in pain; and yet he seemed to get hold of the boys and young men far more than many who can join in their games. He was, of course, a Modernist; but what you say about his preaching is true to my experience of him. There was no party-spirit in him. Indeed once, when I ventured to suggest that he had not stated the evidence correctly on a point with which he had dealt, he asked me to state the other side in his parish magazine. He was very free in his use of the Prayer Book. I don't think that I have ever been present at a service in his church which was strictly in accordance with 'our incomparable liturgy.' But his taste and judgment were so excellent that his alterations invariably seemed improvements; and, if they had not been, his personal charm would have carried them through. Our too early loss of him is deplorable.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

H. L. GOUDGE

JOHN HUNTLEY SKRINE, D.D.

DR. Skrine, Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford, passed away unexpectedly on Tuesday, May 8, 1923, within two months of the decease of his highly-gifted wife, an authoress of some note. Both had come in the course of years to be warm supporters of the English Modernist cause. His death, an irreparable loss to his intimate friends, was singularly happy in its circumstances. He died, as he of all men would have wished to die, in harnesss, with his mental faculties unimpaired, and at a time when his powers and sympathies, despite his three score years and fifteen, were still expanding. He had preached before the University of Cambridge, and in Emmanuel Chapel, the previous Sunday, and had just conducted a service for children at St. Peter's, his Oxford benefice: apparently feeling faint, he went out of the vestry into the churchyard, and lay down upon the grass, where his body was found at rest, some hours later. He had had some previous symptoms of heart trouble, and in any case few men will have been better prepared for the mortal end than John Huntley Skrine. He was, in good sooth, a true knight of the Holy Ghost: a noble idealism, a strain of chivalry pervaded

his whole life from, and before, the day when he stood up in the Sheldonian Theatre, at the Encænia of 1870, a fresh-faced stripling with an aureole of curly fair hair to recite, in deep measured tones, before an attentive and admiring audience, his Newdigate poem on Margaret of Anjou, right on to the lastest hour of devoted service, when he laid himself down 'with a will' (as we may be assured) in St. Peter's Churchyard to die. Elected a Fellow of Merton College within a week or so of his first class in *Literis Humanioribus* (1871), if he did not afterwards cut so large a figure in life as his contemporaries expected of him, one reason certainly was that he early put away ambition, and fixed his heart upon the quest for the Holy Grail. He found that, but not preferment. After rejecting more lucrative prospects, he went back (1873) to Uppingham, in obediencce to a call from his old headmaster, Edward Thring, with the hope of creating a happier *modus vivendi* between that high-souled despot and a staff, not indeed disloyal, but growingly critical of unconstitutional monarchy. Twelve years later—eventful years, including the migration of the school to and fro' Borth, of which Skrine wrote a charming historiette—the rejection of his application to succeed Thring as headmaster left him for a while stranded, or at liberty to wander, till in 1888 he accepted the Wardenship of Glenalmond. Thereafter for some three *lustra* Trinity College flourished under his equitable and competent rule as never before. He had been the Poet Laureate of Uppingham: the comparative leisure and the unparalleled beauty of the Glen were favourable to poetic creation. His first literary work there was a tribute in prose to his late chief, *A Memory of Edward Thring* (1890), which for method and style must long remain a classical biographical essay. That work was followed by two dramatic poems, *Columba* (1892) and *Joan the Maid* (1895), the latter of which has a claim to be regarded as the most considerable poem on the subject in the English, or perhaps in any, language. St. Jeanne d'Arc was indeed, if anyone, his heroine: his constant occupation with her tragic romance was eminently characterstic of his own loyalties. But the poet, or the priest, was something of an exile in Scotland; and in 1902 he gave up scholastic work north of the Tweed for pastoral work in the valley of the Itchen. Not but what he himself regarded the schoolmaster's office as a true cure of souls: his first publication when Vicar of Itchen Stoke was entitled *Pastor Agnorum* or *A Schoolmaster's Afterthoughts*. Some eight years later he put his experience of a rural parish to good use in his *Pastor Ovium* (1909), after leaving Hampshire for Oxford. With the change to the University town Skrine took on something

more of the complexion of a theologian, and expanded in the liberal atmosphere of Dr. Sanday's *Seminar* and of the Society for Historical Theology. The result of this emancipating influence (the first stage of which may well date somewhat earlier) is to be seen in his Bampton Lectures of 1911, with their clear recognition of the relative and metaphorical nature of all theological dogma. Later on, in two progressive works, *The Survival of Jesus* (1918) and *The Gospel of the Manhood* (1922), Skrine at last revealed his intense and mystic apperception of the humanity and perpetual presence of the living Christ, realities for which he apparently sought and found some confirmation in the hypotheses of the new psychology. However that may be, as poet and schoolmaster, as pastor and divine, in every stage of his development, Skrine displayed a candid yet cautious mind, a disciplined spirit, a more than common power of chaste and eloquent expression, never wanting in distinction and significance for those who would take the trouble to penetrate his meaning. He was also a weighty and emphatic speaker, somewhat wasted, perhaps, on a bucolic flock or the scanty congregations of St. Peter's in over-churched Oxford. But his little volume of short sermons, entitled *A Goodly Heritage* (1897), preached at Glenalmond, proves him a genuine artist in the pulpit, and his reverent and beautiful reading of the Liturgy, for those who heard it, must have put the race of gabblers and mumblers to a perpetual shame.

How strange that a man of such sterling stock, of such deep piety, obvious ability and fine character should have been so consistently ignored for Church office or preferment at all correlative to his merits and service, and have ended his days in a derelict parish on a fledgeling curate's pittance! Verily, the children of this world, in Church as in State, are wiser in their generation than the children of light!

R. W. Macan

CHARLES JOHN SHEBBEARE

ON October 15, 1945, in his sleep, Charles John Shebbeare —a very old member of the Modern Churchmen's Union— passed away in his 81st year. He belonged to a well-known family, one of whose members was granted a pension by George III at the same time that Dr. Johnson received his pension. 'The King'—so a wit anonunced—'has given a pension to a he-bear and to a she-bear on the same day'.

Mr. Shebbeare graduated at Christ Church, Oxford: he was ordained in 1888, and after holding a number of pastoral cures

was presented to Stanhope by the Crown in 1921, when he also became Chaplain to the King. Although a man of many interests, and delighting in social intercourse, yet his mind was essentially philosophical and he was attracted by the more profound problems of theology. A vivid description of him was contributed in a letter to *The Times* of November 7 by his life-long friend, Prof. C. C. J. Webb.

> 'As the Rev. Dr. C. J. Shebbeare's intimate friend for over sixty years I should like to add a few words to the excellent obituary published in *The Times*. He was a man whose personality made on those brought into association with him a very powerful impression. He had a mind of rare originality and independence and a remarkable gift for philosophical speculation combined with exceptional readiness in discussion and debate. His *Religion in an Age of Doubt*—in some ways the best of his books—would have attracted more attention had not its publication unfortunately coincided with the outbreak of war in 1914. His principal contribution to philosophical theology was probably his development in *The Challenge of the Universe* (1918) and *The Design Argument Reconsidered* (1923), a debate with Mr. Joseph McCabe, afterwards published in America as *The Revelation of God in Nature,* of the argument that the only alternative to regarding the beauty of nature as accidental is the view that the world is governed by ideals, a conclusion which he held to justify the belief in the Christian's God. His lifelong delight in Greek and Latin literature, his profound knowledge of Shakespeare and love of Italian poetry, his familiarity with Kant and Hegel, with the moral theology of the Roman Catholic schools and with the literature of popular Evangelicalism, the active Liberalism of his middle life, his great knowledge of music and his enjoyment of field sports, illustrate the breadth and variety of his interests. One who knew him well in later years has written: "His humour and good companionship, his versatility, and his gifts as a conversationalist will always be remembered by those who knew him: but deeper than all these things was his unmistakable personal religion and his charity of judgment. His friends have lost a friend indeed.'
>
> H.D.A.M.

HUBERT HANDLEY
(1854—1943)

HUBERT Handley, who passed away on October 14, was a distinguished clergyman of the Church of England, although he never occupied any more exalted ecclesiastical post than that of Vicar in a working-class parish of the Metropolis.

Born in Warwick, a member of a devout Church family—his father an Evangelical, his mother a zealous Tractarian 'who knew almost all Keble's *Christian Year* by heart'—he learnt to love the National Church with a deep and understanding love and with an ardour which never cooled during his long life. A graduate of Lincoln College, Oxford, in the days when the notable Mark

Pattison was Rector, Handley was ordained for work in the London Diocese. He served in a number of metropolitan curacies, the last being that of St. James', Piccadilly. In 1894 he was presented by Mr. Gladstone to the Vicarage of St. Thomas', Camden Town. Here he laboured with conspicuous success as a parochial clergyman. He was a moving preacher. He had a clear, manly, well-modulated voice and always spoke King's English. He made his church the spiritual and social home of a large working-class congregation. Some account of the development of the institutional and social life of his parish is given in his remarkable volume, *Theological Room*, in the chapter entitled 'Parochial Ideals.' He retired in 1914, after twenty years' service as Vicar.

The most remarkable feature of Hubert Handley's clerical life was the way in which as a hard-working parish priest, immersed in manifold parochial duties, he yet found time and energy to concentrate on the larger problems and policies of the National Church. His interest in and service for the extra-parochial Church world was inspired and directed by intensely practical motives. If the English Church was to be effective in the parochial sphere, it was of primary importance that it should become effective in its national organization and policy. The parochial and the national could not be kept in water-tight compartments. It was such convictions as these which led Hubert Handley in 1901 to publish his *Fatal Opulence of Bishops*—a title worthy of Tacitus. In this volume, regardless of his ecclesiastical prospects he bravely attacked the large incomes of the bishops and the dignified state in which they lived. He did this because he discovered that episcopal opulence was an offence to the labouring classes and led to their separation from the Church. Had the labouring classes been able to realize that the English bishops lead very simple, hard-working lives, and that their incomes are spent almost entirely in the service of their dioceses and wider Church activities, and certainly not in self-indulgent pleasure and leisure, they would have felt no resentment at episcopal opulence. Handley's criticism of episcopal opulence inspired his dioccesan to publish his accounts, and led to the bishop being publicly criticized for spending so small a sum annually on his library. To-day, when the bishops have the greatest difficulty in paying their income-tax and rates, and as a consequence are most anxious to surrender their palaces and castles and to live in suburban villas, *The Fatal Opulence of Bishops* has lost its *raison d'être*.

In 1906 a more important work appeared from Handley's pen, *A Declaration of Biblical Criticism*. Biblical criticism, which had become known to the British public many years earlier by Bishop

Colenso's work on the historical character of the Pentateuch, later by the publication of *Essays and Reviews*, and later still by the appearance of *Lux Mundi*, was nevertheless viewed askance by many of the clergy *when applied to the New Testament*. Handley hoped to commend and promote critical study of the New Testament by eliciting from the clergy of the Anglican Communion a definite expression in favour of such study. This task was a heavy one, but he had the assistance of a committee and he succeeded in securing 1,725 weighty clerical signatures to a document which contained, among others, the following declaration:

> 'Our desire that, as many of the clergy have already, with advantage to Christian faith and with a general assent on the part of their rulers, welcomed important results of a patient, reverent, and progressive criticism of the Old Testament, so the clergy, as Christian teachers, may now receive authoritative encouragement to face the critical problems of the New Testament with entire candour, reverence for God and His truth, and loyalty to the Church of Christ.'

The *Declaration on Biblican Criticism* was widely welcomed by the Press at home and overseas, although the bishops at home outwardly maintained a general silence.

In 1908 he edited and contributed to *Anglican Liberalism*. The other contributors were Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Prof. Burkitt, Prof. Caldecott, Dr. A. J. Carlyle, Prof. Percy Gardner, Canon Lilley, Dr. W. D. Morrison, Dr. Hastings Rashdall, Rev. C. R. Shaw Stewart, Rev. J. R. Wilkinson, Dr. H. G. Woods (Master of the Temple)—all members of the Modern Churchmens' Union. Handley's essay on 'Religious Liberalism' pleaded for reformation of the English Church on lines which were loyal to her spirit of Truth, Freedom and Comprehensiveness and to her policy of maintaing historic continuity.

> 'Through the English Church our religion can *grow*; here is the line of life; here is organic process; here is what the past unfolded; here lies evolutionary expectation. "In what we improve we are never wholly new; in what we retain, we are never wholly obsolete"'.

In 1914 he published *Theological Room*, which was undoubtedly the most representative expression of his convictions and ideals. It consisted of 'Gathered Papers'.

Theological Room contains a wistful plea addressed in 1903 to the Dean and Canons of Westminster that they should give as much support as they dare to liturgical liberalism and doctrinal liberalism in the Abbey Services. More interesting still is 'A Proposed Petition to King Edward VII against Luxury' (October 27, 1908). This was preceded by 'King Edward VII and a

Simpler National Life', an article published in *The Guardian*, January 23, 1907. This article the author respectfully forwarded with a letter to the Sovereign on the day of its publiccation. It was acknowledged, but without thanks.

Liberal Churchmen will find two notable documents republished in this volume—'Two Petitions for Freedom'—one from the Modern Churchmen's Union, the other from thirty-six eminent Churchmen. These petitions, which were cordially welcomed by Archbishop Davidson in Convocation on April 28, 1914, prepared the way for the *Doctrinal Report* of 1938.

Perhaps even more significant is Handley's claim that the liberal clergy cannot and ought not to be satisfied with being merely tolerated by the Church authorities. They must be welcomed even as the captain of a ship about to navigate a dangerous harbour welcomes the pilot.

Hubert Handley gained much and gave much by his membership of religious societies. He was a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union for over forty years. Handley was also a member of the C.C.C.—a clerical club founded by F. D. Maurice —a rallying centre for the liberal minded clergy of the metropolis. He was also a member of the London Society for the Study of Religion. The two most eminent members of this distinguished society were Baron Friedrich Von Hügel and Dr. C. G. Montefiore, for both of whom Handley had the highest admiration and warmest affection. He also belonged to The Quiet XII. This 'secret' society—'a brotherhood of clergy bound together in prayer for the Modern Movement in th Church of England'—was perhaps the most signficant of the societies to which he belonged. The card of The Quiet XII was characterized by two symbols: at its head the Cross, at its foot the Praying Hands of Albrecht Dürer. Among the members of the Quiet XII were many of Handley's most intimate friends—C. R. Shaw Stewart, C. J. Sharp, Fergus Wood, J. R. Wilkinson, H. B. Chapman (of the Savoy Chapel), James Granville Adderley, R. B. Tollinton and Alfred Caldecott.

Most appropriately, his funeral took place on St. Luke's Day; for Handley, like St. Luke, was a physician of the soul and knew well how to administer to sick souls the 'wholesome medicines' of the Gospel of Christ. His own personality in its goodness and attractiveness and in his readiness to suffer for others was, for those who knew him, a constant witness to the saving power of Christ's 'wholesome medicines'.

H.D.A.M.

DONALD HANKEY

The news that Donald Hankey had fallen in action, 1916, brought to thousands of people who had never seen him—and the present writer was one of these—the kind of poignant sense of loss which is usually associated with the death of an intimate personal friend. It was not merely that one felt that the Church and the nation had lost yet another man of brilliant gifts, who could ill be spared. The real secret of this sense of personal loss lay in the rich humanity, the extraordinary sympathy, the understanding of all sorts of men, which his writing revealed. We can almost apply to him his own description of the relation which came to exist between 'The Beloved Captain' and his men in one of the most perfect of all his essays:

> 'There was a bond of mutual confidence and affection between us, which grew stronger and stronger as the months passed.'

We felt that we really grew to know him, and we were sure that he knew us through and through. This wonderful insight into human nature gave him the power to speak directly to the human heart. That he was no mean theologian was clear from the fact that though handicapped, by having left school at the age of sixteen for the R.M. Academy at Woolwich, and having subsequently served for six years in the R.G.A., he secured a Second Class in Theology at Oxford. But his great aim, and his great achievement in theology, was the interpretation in life of the learning of the schools. He sought and he found a gospel for the plain man, educated or uneducated, which took into real account the progress of critical learning. A singularly inept reviewer, in a rationalist paper, jibed at him for saying in *Faith or Fear?*

> 'I learnt to reconcile Genesis and the *Origin of Species,* or rather to read the one without being worried by recollections of the other.'

On this the reviewer in question triumphantly remarks:

> 'Precisely! Put aside the facts of evolution, and it is quite easy to accept a theory of special creation the day before yesterday, or to mould that theory into a shape which its author could not recognize.'

But of course Donald Hankey neither accepted nor moulded any 'theory of special creation'. He read the first chapters of Genesis, as every Modernist reads them, as the noblest of all creation-myths, and as far more akin to poetry than to science. He had nothing in common with those extraordinarily dull and stupid persons who produce elaborate attempts to 'reconcile' the letter of scripture with the teaching of science. He could not have anything in common with them, for he was not stupid, and he never wrote anything that was dull. But though his singular honesty and candour made him ready to recognize and accept whatever results of criticism seemed to him to be assured, he himself was not, and he never professed to be, a critic. He said of himself, in his preface to his first book, *The Lord of all Good Life*—quite the best book, by the way, to put into the hands of the average person seeking for a positive statement of the truth of the Gospel, without ignoring or explaining away real difficulties, in regard, for instance, to miracles—that he 'is not concerned to temper the wind (of criticism) to the shorn lamb', nor anxious to 're-assure' anyone. His object is just to set forth his own honestly thought out faith, and he closes this same preface with this characteristic sentence:

> 'To the laity of the Church of England, to all who in shops, and factories, and barrack-rooms, and messes, and colleges, and hospitals, and ships, and wherever else men are gathered together, are trying to fight the battle of Christ with the poorest of equipment, this book is dedicated in loving fellowship.'

There is no need here to repeat the story of his own inner life, since he has told it in his own words in the first of the chapters he contributed to *Faith or Fear?* but it is perhaps worth while pointing out that after he had lost the second-hand beliefs of his childhood, his progress towards a vital and evangelistic personal faith had four distinct phases. First, he came to see the impossibility of accounting for the existence of the human spirit from the rationalist standpoint. This led him to Theism. He could not stop there. A vivid, personal experience set him seeking for the personal knowledge of Christ. To achieve this he left the Army, and went to Oxford. Oxford, he says, taught him that it was possible to be a Christian without doing violence to his intellectual honesty, but it did not give him 'a gospel for ordinary men', nor did he find this at Leeds Clergy School. But he could be content with nothing less, and he saw that in order to get it he must first know ordinary men. To gain this knowledge he embarked on the adventurous odyssey which really only ended with his death. On this odyssey he learnt the secret that only he can aspire to teach men who is always learning from them. In the Oxford settlement in Bermondsey, in the steerage of a German liner, in the Bush of Australia, in the barrack-room, and in hospital, he learnt to love his fellow-men, and to know them with the insight that is born of love. And in them he found the Christ for whom he sought. He found Him, as indeed the Gospel taught him to find Him, very often unrecognized by those who without knowing it served Him, and very often crucified by those who knew not what they did. And so it was that he read the Gospel in the light cast upon it by his insight into the hearts and the spiritual needs of 'the common people', and then, in his first book, he set himself to re-interpret *The Lord of all Good Life* to the men he so passionately loved. He had found now the secret of all vital religious teaching, for he had learnt to read the ancient documents of the Faith in the light of the signs of his own times, and to interpret the signs of the times in the light of the ancient records. He 'searched the scriptures' indeed, but, unlike the scribes and the pharisees, he remembered that from the relgious point of view these were valueless except in so far as they led to the recognition of the living Saviour of men.

So he came to teach, like the Master whose loyal disciple he was, 'with authority, and not as the scribes'. And, as we all know, the war gave to him, just as he seemed to have mastered this secret, what he believed to be his great opportunity. 'With the man in the street,' he says, 'it is not words that count, but deeds.' He, who could have had a commission for the asking, humbled himself to enlist with 'the common people', to share to the full the drudgery and hardship of the life of the camp and the trenches. He hated war with all his heart. He distrusted, as every sensitive soul must distrust, his own courage. 'I am really not at all brave,' he once wrote to me, and, in another letter, he described the war as 'Hell—with compensations'—the compensations consisting for him mainly in fellowship with men he loved and admired.

C. H. S. Matthews

WILLIAM STUART MACGOWAN

1864—1939

The Modern Churchmen's Union has lost a very old member by the death of the Rev. Dr. W. S. Macgowan, a former member of its Council and a contributor to the *Modern Churchman*. The following obituary notice appeared in *The Times* of July 8, 1939:

The Rev. Dr. W. S. Macgowan, vicar of the united benefices of Holy Trinity, Kingsway, and St. John's, Drury Lane, died on Thursday.

William Stuart Macgowan, who was born in 1864, was the eldest son of the late A. T. Macgowan, M.D., of Bristol. He was educated at Bristol Grammar School, and on the Continent, thereby laying the foundation for his mastery of modern languages. He went to King's College, Cambridge, as a Choral Scholar, and to the time of his death he possessed a fine bass voice and was a competent musician. He graduated with honours in Modern Languages and Law, and later took the degree of LL.D. His first appointment was as an assistant master at Cheltenham in 1888, and in 1896 he became a house master. Originally intended for the Diplomatic Service, his love of teaching led him to take orders in the Church of England, and in 1897 he became chaplain at Cheltenham. In 1902 he was appointed Principal of St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, South Africa, which position he held until 1909. Various appointments followed at home, and of these he would often recall the happy years spent as lecturer at St. Anne's, Soho. At that church his powerful preaching drew large congregations, for as an orator he excelled. Public recognition of his talents was afforded by his appointment in 1931 as Golden Lecturer. From 1919 he was appointed incumbent of Holy Trinity, Kingsway, and during a vicariate of twenty years he did much to beautify the church and to better the lot of his parishioners. Other positions he had held were those of member of the Council of the University of the Cape of Good Hope; member of the Rhodes University College Council; examiner in languages to several universities and for the Civil Service; chairman of the Modern Language Association, 1913 to 1916 and in 1920; and chairman of the Education Committee of the Institut Français de Royaume Uni. He was a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. A keen Freemason, he reached the rank of Grand Chaplain, and he was ever to the fore in acts of philanthropy.

Dr. Macgowan was a scholar, not only in his own domain of languages, but also in the study of philosophy. A friendship with Rudolf Eucken was one of his most treasured memories. He was beloved of his people, for he was a true friend to those in trouble, a lover of little children and of young people. His memory will long be hallowed among the people of Holborn as a cheerful Christian gentleman who found the secret of happiness in making many happy.

H.D.A.M.

LIEUT. W. LLEWELLYN PREECE, R.N.V.R., M. INST., C.E.

The sudden death of Lt. Preece is a loss of no common order, both to the Modern Churchmen's Union, and to theological liberalism in general. He had been a member of the Council for two years. During this period his time had been very fully occupied, first with the pressure of professional duties aggravated by the shortage of assistance owing to the war, and then with important naval work which he undertook at the Admiralty in connection with submarines and wireless telegraphy, his speciality. None the less he had somehow found it possible to do for the Union work of the greatest importance. He was joint Assistant Secretary with Miss Nussey, both of the Union and also of the Lay Section, and latterly of the newly-formed London Branch of that section. At the time of his death he had just completed the arrangements for a most interesting course of lectures to be given by this branch during the winter months, and he was full of plans for expansion in all directions.

The present writer knew him well for many years. This is not the place to speak of the privilege of his personal friendship, of his unfailing consideration for others, and the charm of his character. He was one of those whose death leaves a gap in many lives. To my mind he always stood as the ideal

type of Christian layman. His knowledge of modern theological thought was wide, and with his extensive professional and scientific knowledge, he could always bring to bear on the problems of theology that fresh outlook which is so valuable to the expert.

Perhaps his main enthusiasm was for the rights of the laity. He was not one of those who sever themselves in despair from organized Christianity, but he felt strongly the helplessness of the progressive layman in the average autocratic parish, and indeed of the laity as a body. He saw no use in Parochial Church Councils, the decisions of which could be ignored by the Incumbent, and constantly urged that the best type of professional and business man would not waste his time in attending them. In many conversations on the Church and State Report he always rightly returned to the point that the pivot of the scheme was the functions of the Parochial Councils. As those who worked with him knew well, he had many ideas, derived from the working of his own professional institutions, for real powers of self-government based on free discussion and full responsibility. Behind it all lay an enthusiastic belief in the possibilties of the Church of England, especially when re-united with other Christian bodies, and a deep personal religion which he carried with him into all parts of his life and work.

CYRIL EMMET

CHRISTOPHER PHILIP GODWIN ROSE

It is fitting that Modernists living south of London should give witness to their sense of loss at the death of the Rev. C. P. G. Rose, who was a staunch and old member of the Modern Churchmen's Union. He died in 1937 after a short illness, having spent his last two years in parochial work, as Vicar of Cobham. Before that he had passed his ministerial life in the Royal Navy. His great attention to detail was shown in the personal and intimate knowledge he made it his business to obtain of every man who came aboard the ship in which he was serving, and by the intense trouble he took over the preparation and revision of his sermons before they were finally delivered.

As a regular and enthusiastic member of the Modern Churchmen's conferences he was well known to a large circle of friends. His wide sympathies led him to lose no opportunity of fostering good-will between Anglicans and Free Churchmen, and his parishioners appreciated his efforts to the full. It remains for his friends to bear in mind his fearless sincerity, and, in the same spirit of unfailing charity, as he always displayed, to use their persistent endeavours to bring ecclesiastical custom more fully into line with the love of Christ, which, wide as the ocean, knows no bounds.

R. GLADSTONE GRIFFITH

JOHN ELLIOTSON SYMES
1847—1920

John Elliotson Symes was educated at University College School, and Downing College, Cambridge. He was President of the Union, and a member of the Cambridge Metaphysical Society ('the Apostles').

On leaving Cambridge he became Mathematical Master at Lancing, and from 1875 to 1880 he was one of the first group of Cambridge University Lecturers, lecturing on History, Political Economy, and English Literature, in Hull, Barnsley, Nottingham, Cardiff, Plymouth, and other places. At the same time he did a good deal of clerical work, and familiarised himself with life in the East End, during a curacy at St. Philip's, Stepney.

In 1880 he became for a year second master at the Grammar School, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and it was during this period that he preached his

Newcastle Sermons on Theology and Life (John Hodges, 1882). Then he went to Nottingham, where the bulk of his life's work was done. The newly founded University College began in a small way, but when Mr. Symes retired, after thirty years work, during the last twenty of which he was Principal, he left behind him a large many-sided institution, to which had been added Commercial, Technical, Engineering and Mining Departments; and also a Day Training College for Elementary Teachers. This last was especially the creation of Mr. Symes' brain and the object of his affection. He had keenly realised the inadequacy and narrowness of the education provided for Elementary Teachers, for whom, in the best interests of the country, a broad outlook is essential. In 1887 he suggested to the Board of Education the desirability of utilising University Colleges for the training of Elementary Teachers; and the suggestion was carried out in 1890.

During his life in Nottingham Mr. Symes did as much preaching as his scanty leisure allowed. He characteristically incurred odium by attempting to start a Women's Trade Union among the Lace Girls, at a time when such an organisation was greatly needed. Charity Organisation, Children's Country Holidays, and the S.P.C.C. were among his activities. During these years he wrote several books, all of them short, pithy, and suggestive.

Political Economy (Longmans, 1888), now in its twelfth edition.
Prelude to Modern History (Longmans, 1890).
Companion to School Histories of England (Longmans, second edition, 1891).
The French Revolution (Methuen, second edition, 1904).

He also wrote most of the articles on industrial topics in Traill's *Social England*.

He was greatly interested in the liberalising and rationalising of Anglican theology. He became a member of the Council of the Modern Churchmen's Union, and watched its growth with warm interest and sympathy for he considered that a progressive and reasonable Christianity was the one remedy for the ills of the civilized world. His work in the field of thought was essentially constructive.

During his last years he wrote *Broad Church* (Methuen, 1913) and *The Evolution of the New Testament*. He also contributed the article on his beloved master, F. D. Maurice, to Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

JOHN MARTIN CREED (died 1940)

By the premature death of J. M. Creed, Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge and Canon of Ely, English theological learning and liberal Churchmanship have suffered a great loss. The son of an English parson, he was in his courtesy, diffidence, conscientiousness and culture a noble example of the learned English clergyman who, if not constituted to be a master of popular assemblies, is yet admirably able to influence those select bodies where knowledge and sound judgment, rather than fiery eloquence, make their appeal.

Creed was in the line of the great School of Cambridge theologians which arose with Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort, and numbered amongst its second generation H. B. Swete and F. C. Burkitt. Although possessed of a body of sound classical learning, Creed's interests were not those of the philologist and textual critic. He was primarily a theologian who recognized that no

modern theology could be sound which did not pay serious regard to contemporary historical research and philosophical speculation. These qualifications fitted him, not only to hold a professorial chair in theology, but also to be a competent editor of our most scholarly of English religious reviews, *The Journal of Theological Studies*. His contributions to theological learning took the form of articles and reviews rather than books. His three most important volumes are his *Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel*, 1930, *Religious Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, 1934, *The Divinity of Jesus Christ*, 1938. Creed's *Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel* is for the student our best English Commentary: it is remarkably clear and concise: its strength is critical rather than exegetical. It makes too light of, indeed, practically ignores, Streeter's Proto-Luke hypothesis: it is indifferent to the contentions of German Form-criticism, and came into existence before Dr. Dodd had made his illuminating distinction between 'Futurist Eschatology' and 'Realised Eschatology'. Perhaps the best and the worst which can be said of Canon Creed's *Commentary* is that he was strongly influenced by Wellhausen.

The English Church in the eighteenth century, equally despised and misrepresented by ecclesiastical enthusiasts of the Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic parties, because it despised enthusiasm as much as it despised ignorance, is worthily presented in its strongest aspect in Creed's presentation of it.

Where the English Church came short in the Age of Reason was not in the spheres of sound learning and clear thinking, but in those of moral sensitiveness and spiritual aspiration. Yet in an age when religious teachers are tempted to seek refuge in mediaeval obscurantism, neo-Calvinism or mystical pietism, to catch the spirit of the eighteenth century in the sphere of religious thought is as exhilarating as a fine view on a spring morning.

Professor Creed's third volume, *The Divinity of Jesus Christ*: A Study in the History of Christian Doctrine since Kant, is as fascinating for the philosophical theologian, as it is for the man of culture. This volume constituted the Hulsean Lectures for 1936.

The opening lecture on the Christology of Romanticism is perhaps the most masterly. How much Church Worship has been affected by the Romantic Movement is widely recognized; but it is not equally recognized how much Church Doctrine has been affected. With the nineteenth century came a changed conception of the method of Divine Revelation, and this has produced for theological thinkers a changed view of the method of Incarnation. Supplemented by historical research, literary criticism, the scientific view of the Universe, and speculations in modern psychology, the older dogmatic formulations appear to be extraordinarily archaic. Nevertheless they served their day and generation; but, as Dr. Creed recognized, they cannot adequately serve ours: though themselves nigh unto vanishing, the essential truths they sought to preserve, possess eternal values. A good example of Dr. Creed's attitude is contained in the closing paragraph of his sixth chapter:

> 'The effort of the last hundred years has enabled us to appreciate anew the achievement of the great Christian theologians of the early centuries. Doctrine was made under the pressing necessity of taking up an attitude in face of specific tendencies of thought. In the main the answers which were given protected the Christian religion against disintegration. Not for one moment do we wish that the decision of Nicaea had been different. Even the Chalcedonian definition of the Incarnation, though it wrecked the unity of Christendom and bequeathed a legacy of distracting controversy to the Church, was not sheer calamity, for in the circumstances of the age it provided a certain safeguard to valuable elements in

the tradition which powerful tendencies in dogma might otherwise have crushed. But our age is not theirs, and the doctrinal history of the last hundred years does not encourage the supposition that we can treat our problems in their terms.'

The *Modern Churchman* has been indebted to Dr. Creed for valuable articles. One of the most important was contributed by him in July, 1938, dealing with 'Some Implications of the Report of the Doctrinal Commission.'[1] Of that Commission Canon Creed was a most important member and his verdict is worth recording:

'I think it has been our function to promote the coherence and stability of the Church of England by demonstrating the large area of unforced consent among Churchmen of different schools and at the same time to allow for the sufficient elucidation of divergent views where divergence arises. As I close I should like to be allowed to testify to the harmonious temper of our body not only in its agreement but also in its disagreements, and also to the general willingness—indeed the general concern—that serious opinions seriously and responsibly maintained should receive fair statement. Only when this concern has been recalled can the agreements of the Report be estimated at their proper value.'

His latest contribution to the *Modern Churchman* appeared in our Conference number of last year (1940). Treating the theme of 'Jesus Christ in History and Experience', Creed presents his readers with an admirable example of the continuity of Christian thinking and the need which each Christian age has to do its own thinking for itself.

Dr. Creed married the daughter of a distinguished English Modernist, Canon A. L. Lilley,and he owed not a little to her interest in his studies and to her laborious tasks of proof correcting and translating.

H.D.A.M.

FERGUS HENRY WOOD, JAMES ARTHUR DAVIES, JAMES ROBERT CHARLES WEBB

The Modern Churchmen's Union has recently lost three very faithful members who will be greatly missed.

The oldest, Fergus Henry Wood, was an undergraduate of Lincoln College, Oxford, in the early eighties, when Mark Pattison was Rector of Lincoln and Liddon was Canon of Christ Church. He was actually in Liddon's rooms when Liddon received a parcel from Bryennios, Patriarch of Constantinople, containing a copy of the *Didache* (or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles) which Bryennios had discovered in the Metropolitan Library in a precious codex which contained, among other documents, the *Epistle of Barnabas* and *the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*. Although Bryennios made this discovery in 1875, the text of the *Didache* was not published until eight years later. Fergus Wood related how perturbed the great Victorian preacher appeared to be as he strode up and down his study reading the Greek text of that Primitive Church document which contributed not a little to the overthrow of the claim of the Monarchical Episcopate to be of Apostolic origin.

[1]Vol. xxviii, pp. 187–193.

The pastoral life of Fergus Wood was confined to London in his earlier days, and in his later years to Caterham and to Tandridge. He was an admirable example of the older type of Oxonian cleric : he was cultured, conscientious and at home with all classes. Brought up as a Tractarian (his private tutor was later Head of Pusey House, with whom he read on Sunday afternoons the sermons of the great French pulpit orators of the seventeenth century), he steadily enlarged his outlook and his ecclesiastical sympathies under the influence of modern learning—turning to scorn with lips divine, the falsehood of extremes.

All regular attendants at the Annual Modern Churchmen's Conferences will regret the absence from their fellowship of the genial presence of James Arthur Davies. We republish here his obituary notice from the *Times* :

> 'The death of James Arthur Davies, "Macbeth" to a very large circle of old Rugbeian friends, will cause grief to many who have been associated with him in the various sphere of philanthropic work to which he devoted the greater part of his life. In his work for the Rugby Boys' Club, in Notting Hill, in all that he did for needy Eurasians as Secretary of the Friend in Need Society in Madras (recognized by the award of a Kaisar-i-Hind Medal), and, since his return to England, in his whole-hearted work, inspired by well-informed faith for the League of Nations Union, he showed the vigour and moral force which Percival fostered in so many of his Rugby pupils. Perhaps from that source, too, came the strong vein of Liberalism that marked his activities in politics and theology. Long before he became a lively member of the Modern Churchmen's Union he used to spend hot Sunday afternoons discussing religion with Indian friends in Madras. Few understood the Indian students' aspirations and difficulties better than he, and it was not only as Principal of the Law College of Madras that he did much for them. In this country he was a staunch but reasonable defender of Indian political claims. He had a natural preference for the under-dog, but no one in trouble ever applied to him in vain. He was essentially human, and in this, as in his originality and freedom from conventional restraint, he resembled his father, the well-known High Court Judge in Madras, of whom so many stories still survive in India to-day.'

James Robert Charles Webb, B.D., of King's College, London, where he took a first class in theology in 1927, was a promising theological teacher, whose early death is a serious loss to the cause of sound learning in the Church of England. After some parochial experience, interrupted by ill-health, he became in 1930 Vice-Principal of Bishop Wilson Theological College in the Isle of Man, and Principal in 1931. He resigned this influential post in 1935 to become Vicar of St. Alkmund's, Derby. Notwishstanding much physical weakness he exerted a growing ministerial influence there, and won the respect both of his parishioners and his Bishop. The duties of his position proved too heavy for his frail constitution, and he passed away after a period of prolonged and painful illness early in 1940.

J. R. C. Webb contributed several papers of arresting quality to the Modern Churchmen's Conferences, the most notable of which 'The Historic Jesus,' delivered at the Oxford Conference of 1936 in a series entitled 'What to Believe.' He valued Form-criticsm as making a real contribution to the right understanding of the Gospels, and did not regard it as invalidating the great contribution made by Source-criticsm, but as supplementing it. In this he was a disciple of English and American, rather than of German, New Testament scholarship. He will be much missed, especially by our younger members.

H.D.A.M.

PERCY DEARMER, D.D.

Percy Dearmer, Canon of Westminster, possessed of many gifts and graces, exerted a remarkable influence on his beloved Church; he was one of the most influential as he was one of the most devoted of her sons. Deep human sympathy, pure love of beauty, stern detestation of insincerity were his outstanding characteristics. He began his clerical career in Victorian England by being both a socialist and an aesthete—a very inauspicious start for a clergyman. And it is surprising with his intense nature that he did not end his career by becoming either a Marxian Communist or a Roman Catholic. But he was preserved from these fates by his deep love of England and its Church, which debarred him from a servile adoption of contemporary continental methods and ideals, whether in politics or religion. As a consequence he became, like Samuel Barnett, Hastings Rashdall, Charles Gore and Scott Holland, a Christian Socialist of the Maurician type and was for twenty-one years in London the energetic secretary of the Christian Social Union. He strove to awaken the minds of his fellow-clergy especially, to the need for social reform based on Christian principles and modern scientific knowledge.

His devotion to beauty, combined with his love for the National Church, inspired him to purge Public Worship from ugliness, slovenliness and frippery. If Dearmer disliked the bareness and even the comfortable irreverence of Evangelical worship, he detested far more an Anglo-Catholicism which seemed only capable of expressing its liturgical devotion by a servile imitation of modern Romanism. He realized, however, that liturgical reform could only be the outcome of sound liturgical education. As a consequence he took up the study of liturgiology methodically and became master of great stores of liturgical erudition, but his purpose differed from that of a Brightman or a John Wordsworth. They were devoted to pure research: Dearmer was the practical ceremonialist, bent on discovering the best way of ordering Divine Worship in the modern Church of England. This took effect in two ways—the publication of *The Parson's Handbook,* and the impressive and attractive Services in the Church of St. Mary, Primrose Hiill, where he was vicar.

The Parson's Handbook had a wide influence and went through twelve editions, while volume after volume on liturgical subjects appeared from Dearmer's pen as the years passed by. It definitely established in the minds of many clergymen the ideal of an English Use in distinction from that of Rome. He made it clear to those who would be at pains to understand the distinction that an English clergyman might be a ritualist without being a Romanist. Yet Dearmer, as a Churchman, was interested in much more than the Church's ritual. Many years ago, the writer of this notice on first meeting Dearmer said to him: 'I feel I know you quite well because I know your *Parson's Handbook.*' Dearmer replied: *'The Parson's Handbook* is a very poor introduction to me.'

Dearmer was a great religious teacher and particularly of the young—in his way, an English Dupanloup. His five volumes of *Lesons on the Way* are of absorbing interest to the practical religious teacher of youth, and it is to be hoped that they will be re-published in a uniform edition and secure that wide circulation which they deserve. He became increasingly impressed with the need for truth in religious teaching and the necessity of theological reform. It was that which led him to join the Modern Churchmen's Union.

Dearmer recognized too that the hymns sung in our churches were the most potent factors in the propagation and maintenance of an out-of-date theology, and he directed his attention to the improvement of our church

hymnody. He took a large part in the production of *The English Hymnal*, but his heart's desire was expressed in the publication of *Songs of Praise*, where noble English words and fine music were united to sincere religious expression. The concluding words of his last essay, published since his death (1936), dealing with Public Worship and the Creeds,[1] indicate the strength of his conviction of the need for dogmatic reform.

> 'The strength of science to-day is that it refuses to be fixed by past pronouncements and is free of false cosmogonies. . . . Theologians are suspect; their most honest investigations carry little weight because of the fixity that is unjustly attributed to them. Although the very reason for their existence is faith, and faith looks forward, yet the formal parade of belief which is imposed upon them produces the continual impression that they cannot extricate themselves from a past that died with Copernicus. For that is the result of reciting creeds in church . . . Their spell is thrown over even strong minds, with the result, as we are seeing to-day, that born leaders of religion who are in other ways wise and reasonable, are willing to see the fellowship of Jesus Christ dwindle into nothingness rather than abate a jot from the Nicene interpretation of His person. If such a temper should spread, then the urgent work of all who put Christ first, and are trying to follow Him, . . . will be to proclaim on the housetops the Gospel which He gave to the world, and to make very sure that the Kingdom of Heaven shall not be destroyed from within.
>
> 'The Church was right in her long reluctance to use any creeds in her worship: :for the peril of every age is to bury the future in the past. Even regret is dangerous. It was Jesus who said, "No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God" ' (p. 150).

H.D.A.M.

VERNON FAITHFULL STORR

(1869—1940)

THE death of Vernon Faithfull Storr on October 25, 1940, following so quickly on the death of Canon Pat McCormick, deprives the metropolitan clergy of two of their most influential members, both widely esteemed and greatly beloved, though differing markedly in their gifts and activities.

Pat McCormick was pre-eminently a stimulating and sympathetic popular preacher and social worker. Vernon Storr was a theological scholar and clerical educationist. Both were Liberals in their religious thinking and in their practical churchmanship.

The seeds of Liberal Churchmanship were sown for Vernon Storr in his schoolboy days at Clifton College under the second of its great Liberal Headmasters, J. M. Wilson. After his First Class in 'Greats' at Queen's College, Oxford, he became a Fellow

[1] *The Church and the Twentieth Century*. Edited by G. L. H. Harvey. (Macmillan and Co. June, 1936.)

of University College. His bent was towards philosophical theology and exhibited itself in his first published volume, *Development and Divine Purpose*. This, in due course, was followed by *The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, 1800—1860* (1913), the most valuable of his many contributions to theological literature. It was a matter of regret to not a few that he did not continue this account of English theological development into a second or even a third volume. His academic life was followed by a period of pastoral life in quiet rural parishes, Haslemere, Bramshott and Bentley, where he was much esteemed as a pastor and friend. This rustic period was succeeded by life in Cathedral Closes, first at Winchester, then at Westminster. From Westminster he might have ascended an episcopal throne, but he wisely decided to devote himself instead to the education of the clergy.

A great Liberal Churchman of wide culture and even wider sympathies, to whom religious bigotry, obscurantism and fanaticism were as personally painful as they were intensely un-Christian, he recognized that education, theological and devotional, was the sole cure for those evils in our Church life. He therefore set himself to carry out this difficult task and few could have been better fitted than he to accomplish it. Possessed of gentle ways, attractive personality, patient tact, wisdom and discernment, and not least of all, sound learning, he achieved a success which more than justified his devoted service.

Many years ago, Canon Storr became a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union and was one of its Vice-Presidents at the the time of his death. His practical sapience, however led him to realize that the activities of that society in the cause of Liberal Churchmanship needed to be supplemented by at least another organization. The Modern Churchmen's Union was certainly serving the needs of liberally-minded English clergy and laity, but it was exerting no influence at all in the religious education of the great bulk of the Evangelical clergy. It was clear to Vernon Storr that an urgent work remained to be carried out in this sphere, and so he deliberately set himself to do it, and in the most judicious way. He joined the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement, whose largely-attended conferences at Cromer and elsewhere, with their happy blending of theological education, missionary enthusiasm and simple devotional atmosphere, provided periods of real enlightenment and refreshment for Evangelical parochial clergymen grievously in need of both. As its President and the leader of its conferences his influence was profound. Although the Standard-bearer has fallen, we hope that others will

be found to carry on, in his spirit and by his methods, his great work in these darkening days of religious timidity and theological reaction.

H.D.A.M.

CANON PAPILLON AND CANON CREMER

BY the death of Canon T. L. Papillon and Canon F. D. Cremer, in 1927, the Modernist Movement in the English Church has lost two staunch supporters whose services extended over a quarter of a century.

Thomas Leslie Papillon, Fellow of Merton (1865—70) and Fellow of New College (1870—84), was a brilliant classical scholar, a member of the Mosely Educational Commission to U.S.A., and an authority on Campanology. He was Whitehall Preacher, 1877—79. Besides being an Oxford examiner, he also examined for Sandhurst, Woolwich, the Civil Service, and the newer Universities. After retiring from Oxford, he became a devoted country clergyman : it was at this stage that he developed his great interest in bells and bell-ringing, and contributed articles on the subject to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

For eighteen years (1903—21) he sat on the Council of the Modern Churchmen's Union and rarely missed a meeting. From 1909 to 1914 he was Chairman of the Council and is gratefully remembered, as the minute expressing regret at his resignation records, 'for his invariably able and courteous conduct in the chair'. He was Vice-President from 1915 to 1927. In 1916, he founded the Herts Branch, and, in the Union's earlier days especially, he did a considerable amount of writing, preaching, and public speaking on its behalf. He attended the first Modern Churchmen's Conference at Ripon in July, 1914.

Frederick Daustini Cremer, as a hard-working parish priest, first in Yorkshire and Lancashire and then in the South of England, did all in his power to promote those ideals of truth, freedom and comprehensiveness within the English Church, by which he believed that she can alone realize her true vocation as the Church of the English people. When Vicar of Eccles, Canon Cremer founded the Manchester Branch of the Churchmen's Union. He was a member of the Council and Vice-President for many years and a regular attendant at the Modern Churchmen's Conferences. Frank, buoyant, energetic, and fearless, he was never afraid either of experiment or criticism. He cultivated relationships with the Free Churches by co-operative social endeavour, interchange of pulpits, and united services of prayer and

Holy Communion, when such things were regarded as 'profane novelties' by the more rigid Church folk. Although nearly eighty years of age, he was present at our 1927 Girton Conference as cheerful, interested and optimistic as ever. He passed hence in characteristic fashion. Returning from taking Sunday duty, he hastened to catch a 'bus in order to attend a clerical conference, when his heart stopped.

H.D.A.M.

GILBERT COLERIDGE
(1859—1953)

THE Hon. Gilbert Coleridge who died on November 6, in his ninety-fifth year will be much missed as a Vice-president of the Modern Churchmen's Union. His legal knowledge, many-sided experience of English life and 'sweet reasonableness' carried great weight in the Council of the Modern Churchmen's Union.

He was the son of the first Lord Coleridge, sometime Lord Chief Justice whose mode of cross-examining the Tichborne claimant secured a niche in *Punch's Memorabilia:*

Would you be surprised to learn
The Tichborne case is done
And that the claimant's proved to be
The late Sir Roger's son?

But it is even more significant that Gilbert Coleridge was the great great nephew of S. T. Coleridge, poet, philosopher and much else—a founder of English Modernism.

By profession a barrister, Gilbert Coleridge became Assistant Master of the Crown Office and was known in legal circles as 'Master Coleridge'. But taxing legal costs had much less interest for him than many other activities. He was a notable skater and oarsman, a Shakespearean actor, but was best known as a sculptor —the most treasured of his effigies is the bust of S. T. Coleridge, presented by him to Jesus College, Cambridge. He was also a man of letters and produced a number of most interesting monographs of which *Eton in the Seventies* will long survive.

For many years he was churchwarden of St. Anne's, Kew, where before his day, Handel had been the organist.

Loyal to the creed of S. T. Coleridge, he was a lover of animals and birds as well as of men.

'He prayeth best, who loveth best
All things both great and small.'

H.D.A.M.

RICHARD HENRY CHILLINGWORTH
(1873—1954)

THE membership of the Modern Churchmen's Union includes a number of notable Irish Churchmen. Among them was Richard Henry Chillingworth, whose death occurred at his home in Dublin. He will be much missed at our Modern Churchmen's Conferences, where he was a regular attendant. He was essentially an educationist, and it was this which attracted him to our educational society.

Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he spent some years in Germany engaged in the study of the German language and literature. On his return to Ireland he entered the teaching profession and became an authority on Irish education. *The Times* in its obituary notice of him testifies to his eminence as an educational publicist:

> He was a distinguished educationist and writer, who for 25 years wrote the Irish column for *The Times Educational Supplement*. He was also a contributor to the *Irish Times* and wrote for many literary and Church magazines. A book of his essays was published some years ago entitled *Impressions and Prejudices*. For some years he wrote the chapter on Irish education for the *Year Book of Education*, published by London University.

The *Modern Churchman* is indebted to him for valued contributions, the latest of which records the recent Trinity College Commemoration of the abiding influence of his fellow-countryman, Bishop Berkeley, published in this issue.

To students of English Church history, the name Chillingworth prompts the question: was Richard Henry Chillingworth a descendant of the seventeenth-century Oxonian ecclesiastic, William Chillingworth, to whom we owe the *dictum:* 'The Bible and the Bible alone, the religion of Protestants'?

Richard Henry was not a lineal descendant but a collateral.

H.D.A.M.

MARY RUTH LLOYD LLOYD-BAKER
(1874—1954)

THE Modern Churchmen's Union has also recently lost a very old and faithful member by the death of Miss Lloyd-Baker, recorded in *The Times* of November 13:

> LLOYD-BAKER.—On November 10, 1954, at Buckle House, Uley, Dursley, Glos., Mary Ruth Lloyd Lloyd-Baker, aged 80, late of Hardwicke. Cremation private. Service and interment, Uley Church, Thursday, November 18, at 2.30. No flowers.

Miss Lloyd-Baker was a lineal descendant of Bishop Lloyd, one of the Seven Bishops sent to the Tower by James II for refusing to publish the Indulgence issued by that sovereign in the interests of Roman Catholic propaganda. It was this protest of the Seven Bishops which resulted in the accession of William, Prince of Orange, the patron saint of Irish Protestantism.

H.D.A.M.

H. J. TRUEMAN
(1861—1953)

HENRY Joseph Trueman passed away at Beaconsfield in his ninety-third year. He was a very old member of the Modern Churchmen's Union and attended the first annual Modern Churchmen's Conference at Ripon in 1914 before the First World War. In conjunction with the late H. F. Walker of Somerset House he played a very influential part in the creation and activities of the St. Albans' branch of the Modern Churchmen's Union. He contributed to the *Modern Churchman* in November, 1943, an 'In Memoriam' of Miss A. K. Walker (a friend of the Rev. Leslie Weatherhead) and also a very cultured and devoted member of the Modern Churchmen's Union. Two enlightening contributions to our pages are 'The Modern Churchman and his Life of Devotion' (Vol. XIV) and 'Synesius and the Imagination' (Vol. XXXV). He was a governor and benefactor of Ripon Hall.

H.D.A.M.

COURTENAY GALE AND KENNETH SAUNDERS

IN our November issue we commemorated three notable English Modernists, Canon Streeter, Professor Percy Gardner and Canon Sheppard. English Modernism has suffered further losses by the decease of Canon Gale and Professor Kenneth Saunders. Their spheres of work lay far apart and were very different in their conditions, but both were united in their membership of the Modern Churchmen's Union and in their varied activities both were notable examples of its spirit and endeavour.

We extract the following passage from the tribute to Canon Gale's memory published in *The Times* of November 11, 1937.

The son of James Gale, electrician and inventor, he was born at Tavistock and educated privately and at St. John's College, Cambridge.

He went to the new district of Christ Church, Sutton, a few years before the permanent church was built and the district constituted a parish in 1888. Gale soon gathered and held a congregation which few other men could have attracted. He himself was a loyal and enthusiastic supporter of the Church as established, but men came to Christ Church, many of them having been members of other bodies, because they were drawn by his vitality and eloquence and because they welcomed, not so much a church system, as a power which they felt to make for righteousness in the ordinary affairs of human life. It was impossible to think of Gale apart from Christ Church, or of Christ Church without Gale, but his only other preferment was an honorary canonry of Southwark.

His versatility left us marvelling. He was an expert photographer and discussed improvements and inventions with leading photographic firms. . . . He was something of an engineer. . . . His course on the Lives of the Great Musicians was extraordinarily interesting and eloquent . . .

During the war he was chairman of the War Hospitals Supply Depot and did much local work as well as being a chaplain to the Territorials, and was as indefatigable and cheery as in everything that he took up. At clerical meetings or diocesan conferences he could be provocative though always stimulating. If any opinions savoured of theological subtlety or perhaps subterfuge he cut in with ready incisive common sense. But he had no enemies and in the kind of neighbourhood in which rivalry between different churches is not impossible, he was entirely free from jealousy and rejoiced in other men's successes.

He was suspect to some as a Modernist. . . . Those who knew him will always associate his name with vigour, cheerfulness and kindness.

Kenneth Saunders died in November 1937. The following appreciation appeared in *The Times*.

Kenneth J. Saunders, D.Litt., was a sympathetic student of the religions of Asia, a teacher of philosophy, and a trained observer of the life and thought of faithful Buddhists throughout the Orient.

Educated at Clifton College and at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, of which university he subsequently received his D.Litt. degree, he devoted his life to the students of India, Ceylon, and Burma. During the period from 1909-12, while engaged as a lecturer at Trinity College, Kandy, he was closely associated with the austere monks of the Buddhist faith in Ceylon and gained his first insight into the religion of Gotama Buddha as a living faith. He was possessed of a growing conviction that Buddhism has been, not only the vehicle by which the heritage of India and Ceylon had been carried from their shores to other countries of Asia, but a most potent factor in their civilisation for the past two thousand years. At the same time he was conscious of a deepening sense of spiritual kinship between the followers of that great faith and Christianity.

From Ceylon he went to Burma, where as student secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association with Burmese students he found further opportunities to penetrate the ramifications of Buddhist religious life and art. Then, at the outbreak of the Great War, he was the first Y.M.C.A. secretary to accompany the troops of the Indian regiments proceeding to France, where in practical and devoted service he ministered to the needs and comforts of these officers and men—Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Christians—by inaugurating the work of the Indian

Y.M.C.A. in huts specially provided for these loyal soldiers at the front, in the base camps and in hospitals.

After the War Saunders rendered valuable service in recruiting and training men for work in the Y.M.C.A. both at home and in the East. He then made further pilgrimages to the shrines and historic centres of Buddhism in other parts of Asia, chiefly in Japan and China. From 1921 to 1935 Dr. Saunders occupied the Chair of Comparative Religion at the School of Religions at Berkeley University, California. That experience, together with the literary and devotional merit of his prolific writings in prose and verse, led to the founding of the Spalding Chair at Oxford recently established for the purpose of promoting the study of comparative religions at that University. During the years 1935 and 1936 he lectured upon Asiatic history in several of the schools of Britain and worked for two terms in that capacity at Wellington.

His writings include many translations from the original Canons of the Buddhist Scriptures, and reveal his belief that the more Buddhism is studied the more does its affinity to the Christology of the Church stand revealed. Among his chief works were: *Buddhism, Adventures of the Christian Soul, Buddhist Ideals, Whither Asia, A Gospel for Asia, Gotama Buddha, The Heart of Buddhism, Ideals of East and West, Lotus's of the Mahayana, The Pageant of Asia,* and *Buddhism in the Modern World.*

In Dr. Kenneth Saunders there passes one of the few prophets of our age; a man whom the living truth irresistibly attracted, and who therefore in turn irresistibly attracted others. To him Buddhism was not a musty doctrine, but a way of life, a way that should make men of all creeds not 'cranks' but better men. His books are a pageant of the spirit of the East, a mirror that reveals its life.

Himself a Christian, he held that Christianity has much to gain from the faiths of the East, and they from Christianity; each throws light upon the other. And in this spiritual drawing together he saw the solution of the greatest problem of the age; the relation between nations and civilizations, and especially between East and West. As he wrote in the most scholarly of his books, *Epochs in Buddhist History*: 'I would make a plea, not only for an attempt to understand one another, but for resolute co-operation in all idealistic enterprises. The enemies to-day are materialism and militarism; and Christianity and Buddhism as it has developed in China and Japan . . . may humbly confess that each has received the truth as a free gift from the Father of Lights, who is indeed a wise physician of souls, and knows best how the truth may be revealed to each nation as to each individual.' Elsewhere he writes: 'A League of Religions against the common foe, materialism, would do much to reassure humanity and to serve the cause of the God of light and love.'

He made the School of Religions at Berkeley University, California, a centre of Buddhist study famous throughout the Far East. In English public schools he did a unique work. One who as a boy heard him at Winchester writes: 'When I was at Winchester he came down to speak to the upper forms on Eastern ways of thinking. He spoke on and on, and we were fascinated; then the headmaster gave him more time next morning, when he spoke for a good deal over an hour. He talked about the great Chinese and Japanese teachers, and all that he said was utterly new and strange to all of us. But the mysticism of the whole thing was enthralling, and his method of talking incredibly interesting to listen to. A Malvernian I was talking to said that he made just the same impression at Malvern.' At Wellington his methods were unconventional but equally impressive and appealing.

HAROLD ANSON
1867—1954

Following close on the death of Dean Inge, another notable member of the Modern Churchmen's Union and for many years its Vice-President, Canon Harold Anson, Master of the Temple, has passed away. A son of Canon Frederick Anson of Windsor, his mother a daughter of the fifth Lord Vernon, Harold Anson, a thirteenth child, never knew what it was to have a suit of new clothes, as he had to wear those which his elder brothers had out-grown. Educated at Clifton and Christ Church, Oxford, he became warmly attached to Canon Liddon, but was delivered from his rigid Puseyite Tractarianism by having Dr. T. B. Strong as his tutor. Of Liddon he had many amusing stories to tell. Liddon, walking with Anson and others in an Oxford meadow, picked a clover leaf and said:

> 'Is it possible, dear friend, to believe that this clover was created for any other purpose than to teach us the doctrine of the most Holy Trinity'?

After reading History and Theology at Christ Church, he entered Cuddesdon, where his most distinguished contemporary was Cosmo Lang. Although he found the social environment of Cuddesdon delightful, its ecclesiastical and theological limitations were uncongenial to him. Anson had had the good fortune to be a denizen of Oxford during a period of remarkable religious transition in which the Tractarian Movement, under the leadership of Charles Gore, Scott-Holland and their fellow-essayists in *Lux Mundi* (published in 1889) modernized itself.

This High Church modernizing movement adopted the results achieved in the field of Old Testament critical analysis maintained and taught with unflinching stubbornness by Canon S. R. Driver in Christ Church: it also adopted the methods and ideals of the Christian Social Union inaugurated by F. D. Maurice and eloquently promulgated by Charles Kingsley and Tom Hughes. And thirdly, mainly under the influence of Gore, it accepted the limitations of Christ's knowledge in the spheres of History and Science while maintaining His spiritual and moral authority. In short, the Oxford Tractarians had surrendered their fortress to English Christian Liberalism, and Canon Liddon 'sank wounded in the house of his friends'—Pusey House—of which Gore had become Head.

Anson in his later days at Oxford having come under the influence of T. H. Green and Hastings Rashdall embraced whole-heartedly this promising Liberal Catholicism which united new conceptions of the Bible and of the doctrine of the Incarnation with practical policies of social reform and economic amelioration.

An inspiring account of what this meant to Anson himself appears in his charming autobiography, *Looking Forward* (published in 1938). His modernized faith is thus presented by him in the *Listener* of May 5, 1937:

> 'God works through the method of Incarnation—*i.e.*, not by preaching to men but by entering into human nature, and showing His will in the actual methods of human living in this world, so that no department of life can to a Christian be secular, since it is intended to be the meeting-place of God and man'.

Of his Anglo-Catholic experience he wrote in the *Listener* of April 28, 1935:

> 'I feel myself fortunate to have known people so good and so full of cleverness and humour. I felt however, then, as I feel now, that I had no desire to restore a mediaeval framework to the Church of England,

or to express myself, or to teach others to express themselves, in what are commonly called Catholic ceremonies and practices. But I am glad to have seen it at its very best. I hold in great honour those whom I knew who are still in the heart of the movement—and I am glad that I escaped from it, into what I feel is a larger view of the workings of the Providence of God . . .

'I can see now how my hold upon divine things was strengthened and enlarged by coming under the influence of a Catholic tradition, in which Oxford lived and moved and had its being—the University which Mr. Gladstone called "the God-fearing and God-sustaining University".'

After his ordination (1890), Anson served in a Metropolitan curacy. After that as domestic chaplain to an English Diocesan bishop (1891—1894). Later, at the invitation of Frederick Wallis, Bishop of Wellington, he emigrated to New Zealand. There he was appointed Vicar of Hawera (1897—1902), a small country town, and it was there that the writer of this brief memoir (as Vicar of Waitotara, 1899—1900) first met Anson and was much impressed by him both as a new type of English clergyman and also by the calm courage with which he adjusted himself to the hardships of colonial clerical life.

Anson was appropriately appointed Warden of St. John's College, Auckland (the oldest academic institution in New Zealand, founded by Bishop George Augustus Selwyn, its first bishop), which he resigned in 1905 and returned to England. After holding various pastoral posts he was appointed Master of the Temple, where he ministered until bombed out by the Germans in the Second World War.

In this latter period of his life he gave much thought and research to the problems of psychotherapy which, however, he preferred to describe as spiritual healing—'the religious element in physical health'. As Chairman of the Guild of Health, he published in 1923 his practical and interesting volume, *Spiritual Healing* (University of London Press).

H.D.A.M.

CONWY LLOYD MORGAN, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.

Few men have achieved distinction so widely as Professor Lloyd Morgan who died on Friday, March 6, 1936, at the age of eighty-four. A brief outline of his career will suffice to show the loss which the cause of liberalism in religion has sustained. Born in London of legal stock, he received a classical education before proceeding to the Royal College of Mines where he made practical contact with the science of mining and metallurgy. During an American tour the reading of Darwin's *Voyage of a Naturalist* stimulated interest in biology. A lectureship at Rondebosch College, South Africa, in which letters and science had each a place, preceded his succession to the chair of Geology and Biology at Bristol, where the rest of his active life was to be spent. In 1887 he became Principal and in 1910 first Vice-Chancellor of Bristol University, in which office he continued until 1919.

Before retirement his chief study had been in the fields of animal behaviour and of human psychology, upon which subjects he had written frequently with an authority universally recognized. But he will be remembered more especially for the elaboration of the theory of Emergent Evolution, which is associated with his name and that of Professor Alexander. Without the ideal balance of physical, intellectual and spiritual health he could could not have carried through the work which has made him illustrious. For the regularity with which he rode his bicycle along the Somerset countryside and played golf during his final period at Clifton ensured a bodily fitness which allowed

mind and soul to function undisturbed. A constant communicant at Bristol Cathedral, he declared that but for the Modernist element in the Church of England he and a score of his friends would have been unable to remain as members of it. As might be expected, he was a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union, and in the year 1924 read a paper to the Conference at Oxford upon the subject of 'Autonomy of Life and Mind'. He was typical of a distinguished group of contributors to the discussion of the 'Scientific Approach to Religion' which included Professor McBride and Professor John Haldane amongst others.

The delivery of the Gifford Lectures in the years 1923-1926 provided the occasion for detailed development of his doctrine of Emergent Evolution. This doctrine, which deals with creative method, may be summarized as follows:

> The goal of top-level events includes that of events at lower levels subject to modification entailed by the higher substantial synthesis . . . Furthermore the new entities have respectively quite new intrinsic qualities, and quite new extrinsic qualities in relation to other entities. And this newness in each case seems just to come—to spring into being. It is, in G. H. Lewes's terminology, *emergent* and not *resultant*—that is, not merely the algebraical sum of sundry odd qualities and properties. It is something genuinely new in evolutionary advance.
>
> Now in so far as any new entity affords an instance of a constitutive plan with new intrinsic principles of self-regulation, it exemplifies autonomy . . . There is autonomy in the atom, in the molecule, in the crystal unit, and in its first cousin, the colloidal entity.
>
> When we pass from inorganic to organic entities along a specialized line of advance in the evolution of colloids, life dawns on the scene. I accept as the most probable scientific hypothesis that it has come in a manner analogous to the springing into being of the atom, the molecule, and the colloidal unit. Certain primitive physiological events are the new items of stuff which go together in a new mode of substantial unity.

The philosophy of Emergent Evolution is patient of a Christian theology. The faith of the liberal in religion, that fuller knowledge can only lead to God, is justified, but only when science and religion unite in goodwill to work out a philosophy which, ncessarily incomplete because humanly conceived, shall yet not offend science or religion or cause a disastrous severance. The writer of this notice was privileged to have the companionship of the Professor on the golf links and to hear the theme of the lectures outlined during play on the green hills sloping to the Bristol Channel. If Professor Lloyd Morgan was remarkable for the maintenance of bodily vigour long after the time when most men fail in strength and for his power to fit into a comprehensive system an unusually wide range of scientific knowledge, his friends will retain as their final and lasting memory a Christian character, beautifuly poised, whose charm it was to embody Henry Drummond's saying that Love is Courtesy.

R. Gladstone Griffith

MICHAEL GEORGE GLAZEBROOK
(1853—1926)

With deep regret we record the loss to our cause sustained by the death of Canon Glazebrook. He was an outstanding figure in the English educational world, in which after a brilliant scholastic and athletic career at Balliol

College, Oxford, he became successively Bursar of Harrow, High Master of Manchester, and Head Master of Clifton. From the last he retired in 1905 to become Canon of Ely, and in 1907-1911 delivered the Warburton Lectures at Lincoln's Inn. At Harrow he began by editing Greek plays, but passed later to the study of the Old Testament, and produced three useful volumes, *Lessons from the Old Testament* (1890), *Studies in the Book of Isaiah* (1910), *The End of the Law* (1912).

A theological and political Liberal, a friend of Canon Barnett and his wife, and a firm believer in their methods of social reform, it was natural that he should join the Churchmen's Union. He became a member of its Council nearly twenty years ago, when under the presidency of the Rev. A. W. Hutton, the biographer of Manning and Newman, it met in the old Vestry Hall of Bow Church. After Hutton's death, Glazebrook became Chairman of the Council, and in this position he was a tower of strength to the society. Punctuality, thoroughness, courtesy and decision marked his leadership.

When it was resolved to begin the publication of the Modern Churchman's Library, he wrote the first and most successful volume of the series entitled *The Faith of a Modern Churchman.* It appeared in 1918, was reprinted the same year and translated into French. A second and enlarged edition was later issued by Murray. Dr. Chase, Bishop of Ely, felt called upon to condemn it publicly, and a long controversy ensued. Canon Glazebrook's final reply appeared in a little volume, *The Letter and the Spirit.* His last published book was *The Apocalypse of St. John,* an attempt to set forth in simple fashion the conclusions which our scholars, and especially Dr. R. H. Charles, have reached about the purpose, character, and message of this most incomprehensible of books to the uninstructed.

When the Ripon Clergy College was moved up to Oxford in 1919 and re-opened as Ripon Hall, Canon Glazebrook became both Chairman of the Council and Treasurer of the Corporation, and in both capacities he served it ably and self-sacrificingly .

He took an active part in the annual Modern Churchmen's Conferences, which owed much to his conscientious preparation and dignified presidency. Refined, cultured, impartial, sarcastic, he constituted an invaluable element in the gatherings of our *corpus permixtum.* Beneath his headmaster's manner he concealed a sensitive, generous, and tender heart. Of late years, both he and Mrs. Glazebrook (a daughter of Professor Sir Benjamin Brodie) suffered much from ill-health. Nevertheless, he patiently and conscientiously laboured on to the end in the spirit of Matthew Arnold's lines :

> 'With aching hands and bleeding feet
> We dig and heap, lay stone on stone;
> We bear the burden and the heat
> Of the long day, and wish 'twere done.
> Not till the hours of light return
> All we have built do we discern.'

On May 5, after a very beautiful service in the glorious Ely Minster, in the bright spring sunlight, amid the perplexity of civil strife and national calamity, his body was laid to rest. Whether it be that in his case the righteous are taken away from the evil to come who shall say : certain it is that the nation, the Church, and the Modernist cause are the weaker for his departure.

H.D.A.M.

W. E. ADDIS

In its earlier period, besides W. H. Hutton, there were two other notable ex-Roman Catholic priests who did much to extend the influence of the Modern Churchmen's Union. These were W. E. Addis and Alfred Fawkes. In chronological order, Addis comes first. A Snell exhibitioner at Balliol College, having taken his Firsts in Classical Mods and Greats, he devoted himself to ecclesiastical and theological studies. Brought up as a Scottish Presbyterian he became in Oxford a High Anglican and passed thence into the Roman Catholic Church in which he was ordained a priest, became a Dean in Ireland and a member of the staff of the Brompton Oratory. In conjunction with Thomas Arnold (son of the great Dr. Arnold who had also been converted to Rome) he produced *A Catholic Dictionary* published in 1883. To this dictionary Addis contributed the articles on 'Dogma, Ritual, the Ancient Church and Oriental Rites'. This dictionary has had a wide circulation and at least fifteen revised editions of it have been published.

Addis turned later to the study of Semitic languages for purposes of old Testament criticism. In this sphere he was the author of various scholarly volumes. His *Documents of the Hexateuch* (two volumes, 1892 and 1898) stand out as a solid contribution to Old Testament Criticism and placed its author in that limited group of eminent British Semitic Old Testament scholars of whom W. Robertson Smith, T. K. Cheyne, S. R. Driver, Adam Smith, R. H. Kennet, Skinner and Burney were among its most brilliant members.

His *Hebrew Religion,* published in 1906, in the Crown Theological Library, although slighter than the *Documents of the Hexateuch,* is a most attractive volume, and is, we are inclined to think, one of the very best introductions to the subject for English readers.

These were the most significant of his published works. His life, however, was not merely that of the student. He was an able and stimulating University tutor, and an attractive preacher. Those who know little of his scholarship and personal charm, will have heard of him as one who changed his religious communion a number of times, first a Presbyterian, then an Anglican, then a Roman Catholic, then a Unitarian.

Although he held a professorship of Old Testament exegesis in Manchester College, Oxford (a Unitarian foundation), Addis assured me that he had never been a Unitarian nor was this required as a condition of his professorship. He added: 'If I were to choose an epitaph for my tombstone, it would be *Jesu, Mercy*'.

After his retirement from his Manchester College Professorship he became a much loved vicar of All Saints, Ennismore Gardens. He died at Twickenham as the result of a carriage accident in February, 1917.

H.D.A.M.

REGINALD WALTER MACAN*

(1848—1941)

By Sir William Beveridge, Master of University College, Oxford.

1848 to 1941—that is the stretch of time which we survey in thinking of the remarkable man whose life and work we are here to rejoice in and to commemorate. What a stretch of time it is! To-day it is inevitable that we should begin by thinking of it in terms of war. Reginald Walter Macan was born on April 1, 1848. When Sevastopol fell in the Crimean War he was

* A commemoration address delivered in the Chapel, University College, Oxford, on March 29, 1941

eight years old. Nearly all boys of eight are charming; what a devastatingly charming urchin this particular boy must have been! He witnessed, as an undergraduate, the Franco-German War of 1870; and in his full vigour the South African War of 1899. The first World War of 1914-18 came as a break in his magnificent reign as Master here and as an occasion of personal loss, for his elder son was klled as a captain in France. And last, he had seen the world plunged into this second storm. In that stretch of ninety-three years Macan saw the birth of what was thought to be an era of Free Trade and international good-will—and he had seen it end. He had seen Oxford revolutionized by three successive Commissions, of 1870, 1877 and 1919, and after every revolution remaining in essentials unchanged. For aspiring, generous youth of all generations is much the same, from whatever homes and schools it comes, and the service of youth and the vocation of learning are the same in free lands from one century to another.

Reginald Walter Macan, born in 1848, received his school education first at St. Columba's and then as a boy in *Verites* at Charterhouse—a great foundation with which in this place we have so many connections, old and new. But his was a different Charterhouse from that of to-day—it was the Charterhouse of Thackeray—in its old home at Smithfield, years before it moved to the Surrey hills, not the Charterhouse of younglings like the Rector of Lincoln and the Regius Professor of Medicine and myself. Entering the University of Oxford first as a Commoner at Christ Church, Macan migrated after a term on election to a Classical Scholarship to this College. After graduating with great distinction he returned to Christ Church as Senior Student and Tutor, holding that post until 1882. Then he married, and under the old Statutes—an episode reminding us that in one way at least our University has changed—he vacated his Studentship. How whole-heartedly we in this place must rejoice that a marriage which gave him so much happiness, and made him the radiating centre of so much happiness for a growing circle, was also the means of bringing him back to us. For after joining for a short while yet a third College—Brasenose—as lecturer, he was elected Fellow and Tutor of this College in 1884. With us he remained for nearly forty years on active service, first as Fellow and Tutor till 1906, and then as Master—the obvious and certain choice of those who knew him best—from 1906 to 1923. That office he vacated at the age of seventy-five, at about the time when the youngest of those young men whom it is now my duty to call for National Service were being born. During these last eighteen years, living in the neighbourhood of Oxford, he was far from living in retirement. One of his books, *The Collects of the Christian Year,* a set of translations into Latin, medieval and classical, was the product of his eightieth year. Nor did he let himself become the prisoner of a narrowing circle. He had learnt to drive that new-fangled toy, the motor car, at an age when most men to-day are beginning to think that they ought perhaps to give it up; he continued to preserve his freedom to take him to Oxford and elsewhere when he wanted, in that way, till near the end of his life. Everyone of us must have memories of joyful gatherings to which he thus conveyed himself and where he inevitably became the centre of attraction, the life and soul of fellowship. A good many will recall one occasion on which he came back to this College three years ago for an official purpose. On that occasion three previous Masters of the College met with me to open the Library, whose reconstruction commemorates the great services of my predecessor, Dr. Poynton, over a period of years as great as that of Macan himself. On that day the oldest of the three old Masters appeared the youngest also.

Reginald Walter Macan was a master of those classical studies which

have been the glory of this University in the past. He made a notable contribution to learning in his edition of Herodotus, of which one part appeared in 1895 and the other in 1908—five volumes in all. A characteristic note in his Preface describes this as 'addressed to the friends of Hellenic Studies, accomplished through long years, amid many conflicting duties . . . purely for its own sake and as a debt of honour to the University of Oxford which laid silently upon me an obligation to diminish, so far as in my power lay, the reproach, perhaps a trifle antiquated—of sterility, still too often levelled against her resident sons'. Against him the charge of sterility would be not so much antiquated as absurd. Among many minor writings two other works deserve special mention. One is the collection of translations into Latin which I have mentioned already—the lines which you see on the sheet in your hands are what he wrote for our Feast Day, of St. Simon and St. Jude.[1] The other is a volume of memories of Oxford in the seventies.

I must not omit to mention, however briefly, some other facets of this many-sided man. Classic and historian by profession, he was a metaphysician and theologian by interest, a protagonist in the Modern Churchmen's Movement. In his younger days a fine singer, he was versed in all the great musical works of the last three centuries. He continually wrote English verses of distinction. Inevitably, he played a significant part in the larger whole of the University as Reader in Ancient History from 1890 to 1910 and as a member of the Hebdomadal Council from 1892 to 1914.

But though in learned contributions to classical studies, and in the University, the man whom we commemorate played his full part, we in this Chapel to-day must think first and foremost of his unrivalled services to our College. Upon the foundation of his twenty-two years as Fellow and Tutor followed, as I have said, seventeen years as Master. The first part of those seventeen years, until war came, will be acknowledged by all who know the College as the greatest period in the history of the College in modern times, when it shone with equal lustre in every field of activity—of learning and athletic prowess and intellectual ferment. The great Master whom we commemorate to-day needs no further testimony as to what he did for this foundation.

W. H.B.

To Sir Wm. Beveridge's Commemoration we add a Record of the Debt Ripon Hall, Oxford, owes to Dr. Macan

With the death of Dr. Macan the Modern Churchmen's Movement has lost one of its giants. He was of the stature of Hastings Rashdall, J. M. Wilson, B. H. Streeter, F. C. Burkitt, M. G. Glazebrook, R. B. Tollinton, Percy Gardner, R. H. Charles and many other distinguished laymen and clergymen to whom our movement owes so much.

[1] *PRO fundamentis tuae,*
Conditor, ecclesiae
aedificasti viros,
Prophetas, Apostolos,
angularis queis foret
lapis Christus scilicet.

Quorum doctrinae fides
faciat nos habiles,
ipsos templum condere
Tibi acceptabile,
uno cunctos animo
coniunctos in Domino.

The achievements of his long and varied life, and the impression which he made on his academic contemporaries, are delightfully presented in the Commemoration Address by Sir William Beveridge which we are privileged to publish in this issue. Here we shall only refer to him as an English Churchman of broad sympathies and modern outlook who did his part as a layman in trying to promote the spirit and ideal of modern or liberal churchmanship, when and where opportunity offered, during his long life.

As an Oxford undergraduate in the late 'sixties he came under the influence of the Liberal movement in the University on its philosophical and religious side, particularly as represented by T. H. Green. His mind turned towards Holy Orders, but the intellectual difficulties proved to be too great. In 1873 he accepted a Hibbert Travelling Studentship and spent the next two years in German University circles. He was deeply influenced by the theological, philosophical and artistic spirit of the liberal Germany of those days, not yet dominated by Prussianism. In Germany he wrote an essay entitled *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ,* well worth reading even to-day, although much which modern criticism of the Gospels has since revealed was then unknown. The essay is essentially scientific in its method and fearlessness. The publication of this essay[1] in 1877 deprived Macan of the confidence and favour of some of the most influential of the Canons of Christ Church, particularly Dr. Pusey. His estimate of the religious situation in his Oxford environment at this time is most interestingly presented in his essay, 'Oxford in the Seventies'[2]:

> In 1873 Matthew Arnold, then Professor of Poetry, in his *Literature and Dogma,* 'had been trying to persuade us that Literature and Dogma were incompatibles: and the Vatican Decrees of 1871, with their *reductio ad absurdum* of ecclesiastical authority, had brought some at least among us to see that, while Mr. Gladstone's fulminations on the civil and political aspects of Vaticanism might leave us comparatively cold, there was, on Church principles, no logical alternative between Papal infallibility and freedom of thought; and no hope that Anglican loyalties might prove to be reconcilable with philosophic autonomy. But the leaders of the Church party in Oxford at that time were not prepared to agree with the apostle of culture, while they were in the way with him.

After his election as Master of University College in 1906, Macan became interested in the endeavours of the Modernist Movement and later joined the M.C.U., becoming one of its Vice-Presidents and a frequent attendant at our Annual Conferences. On the occasion of the notable Christological conference held at Girton in 1921, he contributed on the last evening of its sessions the following poem entitled 'Holy Communion':

> 'We in Him, and He in us,
> dwelling now and evermore,
> God and man united thus
> with the Faithful we adore.
>
> With the Faithful—and beyond
> deepest depth and highest height
> Spirits each to each respond,
> Finite unto Infinite:

[1] *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ,* by Reginald W. Macan, M.A. (Williams and Norgate, 1877. 6s.)

[2] *The Eighteen-Seventies.* (Cambridge University Press, 1929. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

through the Christ, whose Body we
build, and bless, and break, and eat,
meekly kneeling, lovingly,
here before the Mercy-seat.

He in us, and we in Him,
dwelling now and evermore,
with the radiant Cherubim
God in glory we adore.'

When we lost from our ranks that most promising theologian, Cyril Emmet, Fellow of University College and Vice-Principal of Ripon Hall, Macan delivered the memorial address[3] at the unveiling of the tablet to his memory in Ripon Hall chapel. On that occasion, in speaking of Emmet's modernism, he revealed to his auditors his own conception of the nature of Christian Modernism and its task:

> 'But it cannot be too clearly understood that Modernism—a somewhat vague and elastic term which Emmet nevertheless accepted as a description of his own method of study and teaching—covers and carries with it a new apologetic. Modernism is not a religion, it is a defence of religion, and of the Christian religion: it is an attempt, so to speak, to bring the Christian apology up to date. That is, at any rate, what it is and will be in Ripon Hall: and what it was with your first Vice-Principal. Naturally there is room in Modernism for considerable varieties and divergences of theological positions, and of religious experience. . . . It is the rare and almost unique prerogative of our English branch of the Catholic Church to leave its children—at least the adult laity—virtually unrestricted intellectual liberty, combined with the use of a noble liturgy, and a wide range of devotional practice and aids to faith. If our Church has not seen its way to dispense altogether with doctrinal or what I should call rationalistic tests for its priests, yet in practice our clergy enjoy a freedom not much inferior to that of their lay brethren, and, to do them bare justice, often render a much better account of it. This liberty makes such characters and services as Emmet's possible: and this Hall exists (I take it) to foster and promote the conditions favourable to the development and multiplication of such ministers of the Church and servants of humanity as he was—faithful, it may be, in few things, but worthy to be entrusted with many things—who shall unite in their own lives, as pastors and fishers of men, the prophetic with the priestly office, in however humble an *Imitatio Christi.*'

Macan was at this time a Governor of Ripon Hall, and it is by no means easy to express the greatness of its debt to him. He took the liveliest interest in its welfare and gave it the most unstinted service. When it became necessary, on account of the extension of the Bodleian, to remove from the site opposite Wadham, it was Macan who initiated its transfer to its present spacious position on Boar's Hill. When Bishop Burge, who was Warden of Ripon Hall, died—one of Macan's pupils—it was at Macan's suggestion that another of his old pupils, Dr. Strong, should be invited to succeed to the Wardenship.

Freedom in the Church, and especially for the clergy both in their faith and in their expositions of Christian doctrine, Macan believed to be of

[3] Published in the *Modern Churchman*, February, 1925.

supreme importance. This point is stressed more than once in his notable essay *Religious Changes in Oxford during the last Fifty Years:*

> 'Personally I am not an advocate of the Policy of Disestablishment . . . my ideal for the Churches . . . is still a Ministry as free as the laity, a Ministry without pseudo-scientific reservations or commitments. Let the Churches learn intellectual freedom and honesty of the Universities. Teachers under tests are in a false position—a position, I will not say of immorality, but of a lower morality. . . .'
>
> '. . . subscriptions and tests and creeds and articles and declarations and confessions of belief and impeachments, prosecutions, and penalties, have not succeeded in stifling a certain Liberty of Prophesying. . . .'
>
> 'Theology cannot afford to remain for ever under the suspicion of mental servitude and of moral cowardice in a society otherwise dedicated to Liberty and Truth.'

H.D.A.M.

WILLIAM FREDERICK GEIKIE-COBB

The death in 1942 of William Frederick Geikie-Cobb, D.D., Rector of St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate, deprives the Modern Churchmen's Union of an old and stalwart member. Dr. Geikie-Cobb was appointed Rector of St. Ethelburga's by Bishop Mandell Creighton—a shrewd judge of character whose appointments invariably justified themselves. The new rector's position at St. Ethelburga's was not at first an easy one. There had been ceremonial scandals at the Church which had ended in violent conflict, and the new Rector's delicate task was to keep the mean between two extremes. This Geikie-Cobb succeeded in doing, not because he was timid, but just the reverse. He possessed sound principles and acted on them with consistency and courage. In his early days a strong High Churchman, he steadily became more liberal in his sympathies and enlightened in outlook. He was a firm believer in women's rights, and it was this, no doubt, which had not a little to do with his vigorous endeavours to secure reform in our marriage and divorce laws. Although he influenced national feeling in this sphere, and had the satisfaction of seeing many of the reforms which he advocated become the law of the State, it has to be confessed that he had no influence upon the law of the Church, and his known readiness to administer that law in accordance with what he believed to be the spirit of Christ, led to his being viewed askance by the Church authorities.

He did much to beautify the interior of his little church and to popularize its services. The statistics of the attendance at his services were remarkably high. His congregation, which drew its membership from various quarters, became increasingly a fellowship under the influence of his leadership and teaching.

The Times of December 15 published a remarkable tribute to him paid by Lady Oxford:

> 'With the death of Dr. Geikie-Cobb I feel that I have suffered a personal loss. My acquaintance with him was slight, but whenever we met I felt that we were friends. He was not only a religious man, but he was a good man; tolerant, kind, and broad-minded. He cared little for the conventions of the Church, but everything for the counsels of Christ, and he was never tired of preaching the religion of love. He was one of the first parsons who realized that short services, clear reading, brave preaching, and good music were suited to the requirements of the present day; and his small, but beautiful, church was in

normal times never empty. Although he had an excellent sense of humour, and a fervent desire to help and guide both the poor and the rich, he had no moral vulgarity, and in spite of his being a man of learning I never heard him say a stupid word. I never left the Church of St. Ethelburga without feeling that Dr. Geikie-Cobb had kindled my hope and strengthened my faith.'

Among his published works were the following: *Translation of Letters of St. Bernard,* being Vol. II of Catholic Standard Library, 1890; *Translation of Cornelius a Lapide on I and II Cor. and Gal.,* 2 vols., 1895; *Thelogy Old and New,* 1901; *Mysticism and the Creed,* 1914; *The Path of the Soul,* 1923; *The Humanist's Hornbook,* 1935. In their chronological order they exhibit his intellectual and spiritual evolution. *The Modern Churchman,* Vol. XX (1930) contains a valuable article by him on 'Marriage and Divorce in the Modern State'.

He had those gifts and graces which would have enabled him to administer a much larger sphere than his little city parish with benefit to both Church and nation, but the change in the administration of the Diocese of London which followed on the death of Creighton was favourable to the advancement of slighter men.

H.D.A.M.

PREBENDARY JOHN RICHARD WILKINSON
(1865—1940)

On April 25, St. Mark's Day, after an illness of some months, there passed from among us John Richard Wilkinson, Rector of Winford, Prebendary of Wells Cathedral and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Bath and Wells. He had gone up to Oxford as a mathematical scholar of Worcester College in 1884. After his two Firsts in Mathematics, in which he took his degree in 1887, he stayed on to read 'Greats'. He was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1891 and served three London curacies. During this period he continued his studies, making great use of the Reading Room at the British Museum. His study of the Bible had led him quite early to see the importance of a thoroughly critical investigation of the Gospel records, and from this time onwards he devoted his great powers to this line of research. In realizing the crucial importance of a really scientific study of the Gospels he was ahead of most English scholars of his time, and he made it the main task of his life.

In 1903 his old College presented him to the living of Winford in Somerset, a village some six miles south of Bristol on the Mendip Hills. Here for thirty-seven years he served faithfully and devotedly his flock of eight hundred souls. It was not long before the clergy in his neighbourhood discovered that they had among them a scholar of real eminence, though to most of them his contributions seemed to be of an alarming and disturbing nature. Their minds were unaccustomed to and indeed unaware of this new line of study. *Lux Mundi* had prepared them to accept a certain degree of criticism of the Old Testament narratives, but the Gospels were altogether another matter. It was inevitable under the circumstances that there should be disapproval and opposition. However, Wilkinson's deep reverence and the shining qualities of his beautiful character gained him a hearing in wider circles as time went on. He left no stone unturned to make himself master of the growing mass of scholarly contributions to the investigation of the

Synoptic Problem, and he let nothing of importance escape him. He became a real 'expert' in his subject.

While in London he had been elected a member of the 'Curates' Clerical Club', at whose meetings he had made a considerable impression. Later he became a valued member of the London 'Society for the Study of Religion', where he numbered among his friends the late eminent scholars Baron von Hügel and Dr. C. G. Montefiore. His advice was sought on questions relating to his own special study by such men of learning as the late Dr. Rashdall, who pays his tribute to Wilkinson in his Bampton Lectures and other works. In Somerset a small group of clergy had discovered the hidden treasure in their midst and formed a class or study-circle under his inspiring guidance, meeting once a month at his Rectory, where he proved his great qualities as a teacher and where he gave of his best. It was not in pulpit or on platform but in the class-room of study that his great abilities had full scope and where he was in his element. He was not only a faithful parish priest, but gave great public service on his District Council and was a valued helper and supporter of the Bristol University Settlement. In 1925 Bishop Wynne Willson gave public recognition to his great abilities by making him a Prebendary of Wells and one of his Examining Chaplains. This opened to him further spheres of influence which were long overdue.

No account of Wilkinson would give any idea of his influence which failed to mention the impression he made on all who came into intimate contact with him. He possessed a spirit of great courage, a sensitive and reverent passion for truth, utter selflessness, an immense capacity for taking pains about anything he undertook, especially when it was to help others, a fine sense of humour and power of sympathy, a quick appreciation of all fine and noble things, and that indefinable charm and attractiveness which men call 'Christian'. Indeed, those of us who had the privilege of studying with him over a period of years could not help but notice that the portrait of the historic Jesus which he unveiled was reflected in no small measure in the life of him who was our guide. He was possessed of a most unusual sanity and clear vision of fact. In his studies he could move safely amid the bewildering fusillade of theories built up on flimsy fancies which seem to fascinate very often the brains of clever and less balanced minds, gaining for them a brief reputation before passing into oblivion. He held fast that which was good and never allowed himself to be side-tracked into fanciful speculations which had no real evidence for their support. He was a most outstanding example of a deepened faith in the essential verity of the Christian revelation after a ruthless and thorough scientific criticism of its credentials. So far from this faith being a thin and emasculated residuum, it was deeper and more secure because so well based upon reliable foundations. It was a faith that had nothing to fear from reason and criticism, but able to give a thoroughly good account of itself from whatever quarter the attack might come. It was just the faith that was needed to carry those who have it, bold and undismayed in these difficult times and the probably still more difficult times to come. There are a considerable number of people who have reason to thank God for the gift of John Richard Wilkinson.

He has left behind him no original published work except the six volumes of Harnack's New Testament Studies which he translated for the Crown Theological Library, and a small work of Arnold Meyer in Harper's 'Library of Living Thought'. Was there not a strange appropriateness that one who had done so much to illuminate the Marcan document should receive his call to the higher service on St. Mark's Day?

C. E. Seamer

Shapwick Vicarage.

JOHN RICHARD WILKINSON

(Second Notice)

In the last *Modern Churchman* a fine, generous tribute to John Wilkinson was paid by one of his younger friends, Mr. Seamer. As, perhaps, John's oldest friend I should like to confirm that appreciation, and to say how glad I am that a younger generation should step out and so beautifully declare their reverence for one whom they had found to be their teacher and guide.

There is in John's record one virtue which did not call for Mr. Seamer's detailed notice, but which I have often observed with deep satisfaction. It was his extraordinary faithfulness as a parish clergyman. Those six hundred simple country people of Winford, with their hidden, quiet English virtues, were for him a tremendous trust; they were a large family and he was the head; they had their faults, so had he; he, the scholar, was there to *serve* them, to judge them by Gospel standards, to love them good and bad. I know the parish very well; the respect for him was undemonstrative, but profound; his influence through thirty-seven years was for all kindly human things illumined, often without a word, from above; his hope for Winford was 'full of immortality'.

'So glorious let thy Pastors shine,
That by their speaking lives the world may learn
First filial duty, then divine.'

Hubert Handley

WILLIAM MAURICE PRYKE

We record with no ordinary sense of loss the death of William Maurice Pryke, B.D., Rector of Risby, who died on January 31, 1926, in his thirty-ninth year. The son of Chancellor Pryke, of Exeter Cathedral, he was educated at Sherborne School and at Merton College, Oxford. He obtained Second Class Honours in Theology in 1910, and proceeded to his B.D. in 1916. After leaving Oxford he studied Theology at Marburg University, and there started on those lines of thought which he pursued during the rest of his life. His first curacy, 1910-1915, he served under Canon Garbett at Portsea. His next curacy was at All Hallows, Barking, under Canon A. W. Robinson. He became Vicar of Bradninch, Devon, in 1918, and in 1921 exchanged this parish for St. Aidan's, South Shields. At South Shields he worked beyond his physical powers. Having strained his heart, he was warned by his doctor that he must seek lighter work. Lord Chancellor Haldane in 1924 presented him to Risby, a rural parish in Suffolk. Here after fifteen months of happy work he died. His dying days were characterized by a wonderful joyousness, based on his strong faith in the love and presence of God.

Those who were present at last year's Modern Churchmen's Conference at Oxford are not likely to forget Maurice Pryke's paper on 'Modernism and Life after Death'. It was characterized not only by sound learning and great expository power, but also by a certain ruthless courage which refused to use traditionalist language, ambiguous phrases, and obsolete arguments in support of the doctrine of a future life. No doubt many will turn to that paper again, and will note that while one untenable position after another is abandoned by the writer, yet he maintains triumphantly the faith in life eternal beyond the tomb. His paper concluded with these words:

'The Christian to-day will go for his pictures of the after-life rather to the utterances of the great poets, than to the flamboyant imaginings

of Hebrew Apocalyptic, and concentrating his thought on heaven as being beyond all else fellowship with a Person, will declare himself at once incurably agnostic and supremely confident in face of death's adventure, being content to say with Tennyson:

> "For though from out our bourne of Time and Place
> The flood may bear me far,
> I hope to see my Pilot face to face
> When I have crost the bar."

or with John Masefield: :

> "Death opens unknown doors. It is most grand to die."

Maurice Pryke's death affirmed and confirmed his teaching about death. There was a note of joyous triumph in it. We cite but one characteristic utterance. When, in reply to his enquiry, his wife told him that he was dying, he said: 'I had no idea how wonderful it would be'.

Although only fifteen months at Risby, he had won the regard of his parishioners. The enlarged congregation, the well-trained choir, the improved church arrangements testified to this. He was a faithful parish priest, but he strove to be more: a zealous student, he used his knowledge to help those outside his parish. He was a regular and valued contributor, especially of reviews, to the *Modern Churchman*. Able articles by him were also published in the *Pilgrim, Interpreter,* and *Review of the Churches*. He was not only a member of the Council of the Churchmen's Union, but also the Honorary Librarian of the Union. This office entailed a heavy correspondence in answer to queries as to courses of reading, authorities to be recommended in the preparation of papers on special subjects, books suitable for teachers, etc. He found time and energy to produce a book, *Modernism as a Working Faith,* published by Heffer's last year. It constitutes a convincing reply to those who commonly assert that the Modernist presentation of the Christian Religion is unsuited to the needs and understanding of the ordinary man. The simple Christian believer, Maurice Pryke asserted, 'is at heart potentially, if not actually and avowedly, a thoroughgoing Modernist'.

The Modernists in this country are deeply conscious of the gap which his departure has left in their ranks. He was essentially a working Modernist. In the last few years death has deprived our cause of many whose gifts and graces and labours and examples have done much to make Modernism the influence and power which it is to-day, and of these, last but not least, is our fellow-worker Maurice Pryke.

H.D.A.M.

DR. STANLEY ARTHUR COOK

(1873—1949)

It would certainly have amused Stanley Cook, for as such he was always affectionately known among his friends, that one of the most insignificant of his former pupils should have the honour of recounting his mighty deeds; I can imagine him murmuring with a touch of sardonic humour, 'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings', and hoping that the English would be better than some of the Hebrew proses I served up for his delectation thirty-eight years ago.

The bare facts of his life and work may be briefly stated: born at King's Lynn in 1873, educated at Wyggeston School, Leicester, and at Gonville

and Caius College, Cambridge, where he afterwards became a Fellow, gaining the Tyrwhitt Scholarship and Mason Prize, and in 1896 the Jeremie Septuagint Prize. In that year also his eminence in the world of Semitic scholarship led to his being invited to join the editorial staff of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* as later he was to become an editorial adviser, departmental editor and contributor on Biblical subjects to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* fourteenth edition. For thirty years he also edited the Palestine Exploration Fund's journal, and was joint editor of the *Cambridge Ancient History* and contributed to Vols. I-III and VI. The background of all his work was Cambridge with its devotion to accuracy in minute particulars, however large the background against which they were viewed. As another fine Old Testament scholar, and my own tutor, Dr. Owen C. Whitehouse, remarked to me as he once held in his hand an early effort of mine in Hebrew, in which I had misplaced a dot, 'Remember, Mr. Wigley, that Cambridge stands for verbal scholarship, verbal accuracy'. I have never forgotten. And Stanley Cook drove home the same truth as college lecturer in Hebrew and in the comparative study of religion, and as Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. The recognition of his great gifts came thick and fast, the Litt.D. from Cambridge, an Hon. D.Litt from Oxford, an Hon. D.D. from Aberdeen, and a Fellowship of the British Academy.

All this time stimulating and original works were flowing from the rich treasury of his mind: *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology; The Old Testament—a Re-interpretation; the 'Truth' of the Bible; The Rebirth of Christianity; An Introduction to the Bible;* to say nothing of his introductions to and additional notes to new editions of W. Robertson Smith's famous books on *Kinship and Marriage in Arabia* and *The Religion of the Semites.* As the admirable survey of his work, given in over half a column of *The Times* in its issue of September 28, 1949, well says:

> 'His volume *The Study of Religions* (1914) marks a transition. He was now eager to evaluate his knowledge of Semitic antiquity in its relations to all matters of permanent human needs and achievements—psychological, sociological, philosophical and religious. He was deeply impressed by the fact that, decades earlier, A. B. Davidson and W. Robertson Smith had invaluably combined Biblical analysis with theological interpretation based on the profoundest constructive principles of thought; and memorably Cook resumed that fruitful task. More and more he stood convinced that through the Old and New Testaments, modernly understood, it is possible to perceive a historical continuity and spiritual development which is of permanent and paramount significance for right judgment of the ultimate meaning of human life, for the wise ordering of society, and for interpretation of essential Christian belief.'

It is, of course, impossible to sum up the rich contributions of such a mind to the world of scholarship, or to estimate the impact he made on the discerning among ordinary readers in his more popular books. Always his stress was on what George Adam Smith called 'real life', 'the message of a true prophet to living men', 'the essential problems of human society'. He was as tolerant as the really great scholar always is; in his own words,

> 'The "critical" inquirer must assume that people are intellectually as honest and sincere as himself. The "critical" method is to treat the beliefs and ideas of others as we would that they should treat ours, to allow that they may hold them for reasons not very different from those that actuate us, and to assume that the disharmony in thought is due to *bona fide* differences in experience and knowledge.'

Or again,

> 'Man's profoundest and most effective realities are primarily psychical realities, whether the individual be a mystic or a rationalist, a scientist or a religious devotee.'

Never did he forget, as so many are apt to forget even to-day, that

> 'The comparison of religions shows that religious expression moves along with the general progress of thought. There is an interconnection between religious and other aspects of thought, between Religion and all ordinary knowledge . . . we cannot properly understand things (men, events, beliefs, practices) unless we view them in their context, in the whole of which they are part, in the light of the preceding and following stages.
>
> 'The language that expresses our experience is as inadequate as the clumsy mark on the blackboard, which is supposed to represent a mathematical line devoid of breadth and absolutely straight. It is an error to use our imperfect symbols as bases for investigation; rather must one go below the surface, recover the underlying meaning, and seek to improve the tools and instruments of thought. Our intellect both assists and impedes us, but only through it can progress come.'

Those who were present at the Modern Churchmen's Conference at Oxford last year will never forget the paper he gave us on 'The Causes of Christian Modernism', so ripe in its learning and so understandable even by the non-expert. After a review of the four main factors which had brought Modernism to the front, he dealt in some detail with the conclusions to be drawn from them, and ended with a survey of the task before the Modern Churchmen's Union, of which he was a life member.

> 'We need,' he said, 'a religious, or rather a spiritual, view of the entire universe. This is a view that would embrace much that, strictly speaking, lies outside religion; but it sees God in the universe. . . . Before we can synthesize our religious and other knowledge we have first to get a "whole" view of the individual and those varieties of his experience and thought which determine his whole world-view.'

As events have turned out, this was to be his last paper to the M.C.U. and it was fittingly a clarion call. We shall sorely miss him, especially in those informal after-dinner gatherings in which he gave himself as unstintingly as in his prepared papers.

He was fond of quoting Lacordaire's words, 'to possess oneself is the first act of the divine life; to give oneself is the second', and right well he exemplified self-possession and self-giving. That is why there is something more to add to any tribute to the depth and range of his mind: it is the impression he made years ago, and which indelibly remains, on the small group of men who went to him week by week for Hebrew Unseens and Proses. I can see him now, a piece of chalk in each hand, for he could write with either with equal facility. . . Often he wore no gown: 'I think I can do just as well without it, don't you?' he asked with a smile; always informal, amusing, in his company laughter rippled round a *dagesh;* he wore his learning 'lightly like a flower'. Walking round the quad he patiently listened to my plea that we should try to rid ourselves of layer upon layer of our historical skins, and then he would say with a twinkle, 'What you really want is that we should leave the dead to bury their own dead'.

On the last day of the Conference at Bristol, a few weeks ago, I joined him at lunch. We recalled old times in Cambridge; I asked him about X and

Y, upon whom old age was making its inroads, and he said, 'It's sad when that happens'. It was not to happen to him, for at seventy-five, in spite of what one hoped was but a passing indisposition, he was as alert and as interested as ever with his eager question, 'What have you got on the stocks?' At that moment, as in the years when he was a lecturer in Caius, he was still enthusiastic for the production of sound learning, and I was glad to hear from him that we could expect another volume from his pen to be published soon in the Pelican series. Himself a modern prophet, he takes his rightful place among the prophets whom he loved, for in him there was mingled the forthrightness of Amos, the reach of Isaiah, and something which his friends well knew, which reminded them of the tenderness of Hosea and of One who exalted the childlike heart.[1]

T. Wigley

GEORGE GORDON COULTON
(1858—1947)

On March 4, George Gordon Coulton died, aged eighty-eight. His eye was not dim nor his natural force abated nor the keenness and vigour of his mental powers. His death came about as the result of a chill incurred in our Arctic winter.

George Gordon Coulton was essentially a product of the eastern counties, a son of the 'Saxon shore', a region in which the invaders appear to have extirpated all the native inhabitants. Tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed, lithe and muscular in figure, he was typically Nordic in character, indefatigably energetic, unflinchingly resolute, direct in speech, authoritative in manner. His supreme virtue was his love of truth, and next to that, if it be a virtue, his love of beauty.

He was born in 1858 at King's Lynn, the son of a solicitor in that ancient borough, half seaport, half market-town, with its mediaeval churches and unspoilt merchants' homes. He knew every stone in it, and there is little doubt that this environment prompted his love of and interest in mediaevalism. His places of education were those of an eastern counties man. His school was Felsted, his university Cambridge (St. Catharine's College). His studies were classical, but an attack of illness deprived him of a good degree. But there was another side to his education, an immensely important one for his future studies. Before going to Felsted he was sent abroad to the *Lycée Imperiale* at St. Omer, and after he left Cambridge he studied in the University of Heidelburg. His mind turned towards the ministry of the Church of England and he became one of 'Vaughan's doves'.

Dr. Vaughan, headmaster of Harrow, after he had been promoted to a deanery, received a number of promising young men into his house, whom he assisted in their preparation for Holy Orders—the best theological college which the Church of England has ever possessed. Many of its members became distinguished ecclesiastics, but Coulton was not among them. Although ordained a deacon, conscientious difficulties prevented his proceeding further in the clerical career. He next took up schoolmastering and was a good schoolmaster, but his real interests were those of a scholar, not those of a pedagogue. His life at this time, and for many years after, was a great struggle, but he remained all the while loyal in his devotion to historical research, and as he possessed literary gifts which enabled him to present the results of his researches in a lucid and arresting manner, he at last achieved

[1] Conference Number of *Modern Churchman,* Vol. XXXVIII, 1948.

a wide reputation and financial stability. Later in life he was elected a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and a Fellow of the British Academy, and delivered great numbers of courses of lectures both as a university extension lecturer and as a university tutor and professor. He married Miss Rose Ilbert, who became his devoted helper in the incessant drudgery and many-sided interests which such a scholar's life demands.

Coulton's researches were in the field of Western mediaeval life—its religion, its art, its architecture and its literature. Unlike his friend Hastings Rashdall, mediaeval scholasticism was not a main interest. It was the life rather than the thought of the Middle Ages which was his field, and only those who read his volumes can realize how intimate and varied his knowledge of it was. Coulton, although he had abandoned the clerical vocation, was a deeply religious man, utterly devoted to whatsoever things are good, true, pure, lovely in human experience. This religious side of Coulton's nature is expressed most profoundly in one of the least known of his volumes, *Christ, St. Francis, and To-day*. He was a man of strong social sympathies; perhaps his own hard struggle against financial limitations increased his sympathy for those who are not born with a silver spoon in their mouth. The Franciscan spirit which refused to yield to temptations of ease, sloth, materialism, and the 'pride of life' was strongly developed in Coulton. He did not worship poverty nor despise wealth, but he felt the urgent need of eliminating the former and using the latter in the service of man's noblest needs. His stay in Germany when Bismarckian ambitions and Prussian methods were exerting a growing influence on the spirit of that people prophetically inspired him with a sense of danger which must ultimately face our own peace-loving and easy-going nation and even threaten our freedom. He was a clear-headed believer in the motto *si vis pacem para bellum,* and accordingly he espoused the policy of national conscription. He was incapable of comfortably closing his eyes to unpleasant realities and realized that in every sphere of life desirable things must be bought at a price. It was this uncompromising spirit combined with his love of truth which led him into exacting controversies with Roman Catholic apologists whom he detected falsifying historic truth in the interests of religious propaganda. His *bête noir* was Cardinal Gasquet. He criticized the Cardinal fiercely, and the Cardinal instead of retracting or defending his statements remained silent. This created the very worst impression in Coulton's mind, and thenceforward he never spared Roman Catholic apologetic statements and pious traditions which were unable to face historical criticism. The claim that the mediaeval monks had planned and built their exquisitely beautiful buildings Coulton maintained was without foundation. These buildings were the achievements of guilds of stonemasons. No doubt the ecclesiastics selected the designs, but they did not create them nor do the work which carrying them out entailed. Out of their vast ecclesiastical endowments they paid the designers and craftsmen. As a result of this controversial side of Coulton's life he became known as the *malleus Romanorum*. Some accounted it a pity that he should have spent so much of his energy in controversy, but be that as it may, his contribution to non-controversial exposition of mediaeval religion, art, and literature far exceeds in quantity his controversial writings. His *magnum opus, Five Centuries of Religion,* is not likely to be surpassed.

Dr. Coulton was a Vice-President of the Modern Churchmen's Union and will be greatly missed as one who by his splendid contributions to sound learning and exacting scholarship enriched the life of a religious communion which he loved as he did all things English, although in some cases desirous of making them more worthy of their great traditions and potentialities.

We conclude this memoir with a most courageous tribute to Dr. Coulton from a Roman Catholic historian. . . . Mr. Warren Sandall, a Roman Catholic scholar, in a letter addressed by him to Dr. Griffin, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster. He writes :

> I venture, as a layman, to approach you on a matter which for a long time has been a cause of great concern to some, if not to many Catholics. It is the dishonesty of much of our propaganda, notably in our presentation of history, and in the campaign for Catholic schools as this has been conducted at least from the days of the late Cardinal Bourne. . . . Your Grace will, however, be aware that the question of truth in Catholic history has been given prominence in the controversies in which Dr. G. G. Coulton and Cardinal Gasquet have been perhaps the chief, though by no means the only protagonists. Owing to the over-emphasis given to one instance of the Cardinal's persistence in demonstrated falsehood, an impression has perhaps been given that this is the only important example of the Cardinal's dishonesty. Such an impression would be entirely erroneous. I have been engaged for many years now on independent historical research, without any special reference to the possible errors of Cardinal Gasquet or any other writer. Yet I have found three instances of major falsification of documents by the Cardinal, instances which Dr. Coulton has not included even in his almost interminable lists of similar errors. It would be wholly wrong to attribute all the Cardinal's errors to dishonesty. Many are plainly due to an incompetence which may well seem incredible in a writer who made so great a parade of his researches and who acquired such prestige as an historian even in non-Catholic circles. . . .
>
> The Abbé Constant has repeated in a fairly recent work most of Gasquet's errors, evidently without question, and in one instance has (for the sake of round numbers in certain statistics) even augmented the error, which already was sufficiently grotesque. Such indeed is the spirit of ignorance and advocacy which informs our presentation of history to-day, whether it be in text-books, serious treatises, or ephemeral articles and public speeches to Catholic audiences.
>
> And what is the essential evil in all this? Surely it is the fundamental dishonesty of mind, the indifference to truth, which marks not the bad or indifferent Catholic, but the most zealous. One result has been that Dr. Coulton has been pursued with a degree of malignity, falsehood, and injustice which is a dishonour to the Christian name and a scandal to the Catholic Church. Indeed, I first made his acquaintance some fifteen years ago as a result of writing to him to disavow, as a Catholic, a peculiarly mendacious attack made upon him by Hilaire Belloc. I also wrote temperately to Belloc, and received a reply in his own hand, which made no attempt at justification, but whose gist was that Dr. Coulton was mentally deranged—than which few statements could be more absurdly or outrageously false. . . .
>
> As a layman I have nothing to lose by publishing my opinions in these matters. But because some twenty-five years ago I gave up much (like many others) to become a Catholic, I think I have a moral right to protest at the system which imposes heavy sacrifices on any of the clergy who run counter to the policy endorsed by their ecclesiastical superiors. Although he is not the only one, the Reverend Dr. J. V. Simcox is a recent example.' (p. 33f of *Is the Roman Catholic Church a Secret Society?*)

H.D.A.M.

DOUGLAS WHITE

The Modernist cause and many other good causes have suffered grievous loss by the sudden death of Dr. Douglas White from a heart attack at his home in Harrow-on-the-Hill on Easter Monday, at the age of sixty-eight. On Easter Day he attended Harrow Parish Church, of which he was a sidesman, and in the evening had listened to a fine sermon delivered by Canon Anson in the Temple Church on 'Life after Death'.

John Douglas Campbell White came of a well-known Glasgow family and succeeded his uncle, the late Lord Overtoun, in the ownership of Overtoun. Only last year he presented the mansion-house, with some ninety acres of land, to the town of Dumbarton for a hospital and public gardens. Although of Scottish birth and ancestry, he was educated in England, first at Charterhouse, where he was head boy, and later at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was a classical scholar.

He took a First in the Classical Tripos and a First in the Theological Tripos and various prizes. He was ordained Deacon in 1898 and became curate of St. Peter's, Eaton Square. Theological difficulties led to his resignation, and he entered on his preparation for the medical profession. He obtained his M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P. in 1904, and his M.D. in 1905, and became House Physician at the London Hospital and later at the Lister Institute he did valuable research work.

White was deeply interested in social hygiene and sex problems. In the Great War he became a Captain in the R.A.M.C. and did valuable work in lecturing to tens of thousands of British soldiers on sex difficulties and dangers.

During the last thirty-three years, as a resident of Harrow, Douglas White served his community in many ways. As a Councillor he was Chairman of the Public Health Committee. He was also Chairman of the local branch of the Waifs and Strays Society, and the Harrow and Wealdstone Hospital claimed his active support.

Another of his interests was aviation. In 1914 he and a friend built the first flying-boat in this country. This was delivered to the Admiralty in August, 1914, and was used for guarding the coast at Felixstowe.

Deeper than all his interests as medical practitioner, social worker, landholder and engineer, was his interest in the Christian Religion. He was a profound believer in the truth of the Christian Religion and in its supreme value for personal and social life. But to his sound theological scholarship and shrewd intelligence, traditional Christian teaching combined with the retention and use of its traditional dogmatic formularies by the Church of to-day, created profound and well-nigh insuperable difficulties. It was this conflict of loyalties which caused him to resign his ministry in the Church of England and led him, nearly a quarter of a century ago, to become a devoted and strenuous member of the Modern Churchmen's Union. He was Chairman of the Council from 1924 to 1930 and a Vice-President at the time of his death. He attended the annual Modern Churchmen's Conferences regularly from 1917 to 1939. The *Modern Churchman* is indebted to him for a number of valuable articles and reviews. He recognized the urgent need for such a society as the Modern Churchmen's Union, and was convinced that the growing realization of its aims was essential, if not only the Church of England was to retain its influence in the modern world, but also if the nation itself was to be saved from lapsing into Paganism. The dogmatic issue which the Church authorities were unwilling to face seemed to him a crucial factor in the modern religious situation.

He held that no solution of the present religious crisis was possible which avoided making courageous concessions in the dogmatic sphere to the results of modern scientific research and historical criticism. Subscription to the traditional Christian Creeds, and above all their use in the public worship of the Church of England, was, he felt, a source of weakness to the Church. It excluded many men of first-class intelligence and high Christian purpose from entering the ministry. The use of the ancient creeds in the Church services, instead of inspiring modern men to faith in the Christian religion did little more than direct their attention to its difficulties. Moved by this conviction he composed the following creed, hoping against hope that it might one day become one of the alternative creeds which he desired to see the Church authorize for use in public worship:

'I believe in God, the Father of all;
And in Jesus Christ,
Revealer of God, and Saviour of men;
And in the Spirit of Holiness
Which is the Spirit of God and Jesus,
By which Spirit man is made divine.
I acknowledge the communion of all faithful people
In beauty, goodness and truth;
And I believe in the forgiveness of sins,
The glory of righteousness,
The victory of Love,
And the Life Eternal.'

In 1913 the Cambridge University Press published a little volume from his pen entitled *Forgiveness and Suffering,* a study of Christian belief. This is a modern treatment of the doctrine of the Atonement—searching and moving—and will suggest to the sympathetic reader the loss which the Church of England sustained when Douglas White withdrew from its ministry.

His later writings, not voluminous, but practical and educational, were mainly concerned with sex problems in relation to social and religious life. *Right Marriage,* of which he was co-author with Canon Barry of Westminster, secured a deservedly wide attention. The British Social Hygiene Council published his *Open Letter to Young Men.* The Modern Churchmen's Union published *What do you think of Sex?* a word to boys of school age. We know of nothing better in their way than these three booklets. His essay, 'Religion and Sex', contributed to *The Church and the Twentieth Cenutry* (edited by G. L. H. Harvey and published by Macmillans) is addressed to a more educated public—as was his volume *Modern Light on Sex and Marriage* (1934).

He took much interest in the work of Ripon Hall, of which he was a Governor for many years. A few months before his death he had become its treasurer.

It is difficult to do justice to the attraction and indefinable charm of Douglas White's personality.

H.D.A.M.

WILLIAM DANKS, 1846—1916

The death of Canon Danks, of Canterbury, early in April, is a severe loss to the cause of sane and comprehensive Liberal Churchmanship. A member of the Council of the Churchmen's Union, he was in close sympathy with its ideals, and his life and teaching were an excellent embodiment of them.

His Yorkshire friends will remember him with gratitude. As Vicar of St.

Margaret's, Ilkley, Vicar of Richmond, Archdeacon of Richmond, Canon Residentiary of Ripon, he worked hard. He raised large sums of money for Church building and restoration, and in an age of financial statistics such success must needs seem highly meritorious, yet he would have counted it among the least of his services to the Church of Christ. It was as a Christian teacher in a difficult age that he was pre-eminent. A well-known Oxford scholar who had listened to and preached many University sermons, when asked to name the best University preacher he had heard, named Canon Danks. Yet Canon Danks was not a profound scholar; he had no flow of eloquence nor charm of delivery; but he could speak to men's business and bosoms, whether they happened to be Californian ranchers or University graduates. There was a depth, a breadth, a strength, a freshness, a tenderness about his treatment of his themes which made his sermons extraordinarily helpful to those who are usually unaffected by pulpit rhetoric, but have themselves been through deep waters and hard experiences. His, however, were no impromptu, emotional utterances; he despised and declined to imitate "the few words" type of preacher; he composed his sermons with extreme care, and as a consequence they are marked by great clearness of arrangement, felicity of diction, and that simplicity which is the product of the highest art. Some of his sermons composed between 1884-1890 were published under the title *The Church on the Moor*. The volume went through three editions.

In a sermon of his on the death of Moses—"Death on the Mount of Vision"—Canon Danks has the following passage:

> 'The city of God shall some day be built, and within its walls there shall be religion without cant, love without selfishness, work without dishonesty, patriotism without party spirit, and zeal without bigotry. Are you amongst the builders of it? If you died to-night, to-morrow, or next year, is there a stone more in its foundations for your having lived and worked?'

H.D.A.M.

WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., Ll.D., Litt.D., F.B.A.

The death of Canon Sanday, on September 16, 1920, deprived the University of Oxford of a great Christian scholar, and the Liberal school in the English Church of its most revered member.

William Sanday came up to Oxford in 1861, and save for four years as a country clergyman, and seven years as Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham, he spent all his working life in Oxford. His relationship with the University was many sided—an Exhibitioner of Balliol, a Scholar of Corpus, a Fellow of Trinity, a Tutorial Fellow of Exeter, Ireland Professor of Exegesis, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Bampton Lecturer, Select Preacher, Canon of Christ Church. After taking a good classical degree, he entered upon the study of theology, and was ordained in 1867. A younger contemporary in Oxford of Dr. Pusey, H. P. Liddon, Benjamin Jowett, Edwin Hatch, Mark Pattison, and other noted leaders in the Anglo-Catholic and Liberal movements, he kept clear of Church parties and avoided theological controversies. He produced his first book in 1872. It was on *The Fourth Gospel;* his second, *The Gospel in the Second Century,* appeared in 1876; his next work of importance was the Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration* in 1893; this was followed by his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (1895), in which he was assisted by A. C. Headlam. This Commentary, with George Adam

Smith's *Isaiah* marked a new epoch in Biblical exegesis. But Sanday's most important publications deal with the textual criticism of the Gospels and the christological problems arising out of these studies. In this connection we have only space to mention three of his later volumes: *The Life of Christ in Recent Research,* 1907; *Christologies, Ancient and Modern,* 1910; and *Personality in Christ and in Ourselves,* 1911. It was in these later volumes that a profound change was observable towards the miraculous. In short he ceased to believe in it as the Divine creative method.

In these Christological studies Dr. Sanday was undoubtedly much influenced by two psychological theologians, Dr. Moberly and Dr. Du Bose and by the American psychologist William James. In preparing the *Outlines,* the method which he had adopted was to proceed from without inwards; he now attempted to proceed from within outwards. This led him to realize the complete humanity of our Lord. Viewed theologically, the life of Christ was *supra naturam;* viewed historically, it was never *contra naturam.* This decision was very slowly reached, and was the outcome of a number of converging lines of study: moreover, it was no easy decision to arrive at and publicly to confess.

Until then Canon Sanday had been regarded as the great champion of traditionalism—learned, cultured, reverent, and singularly open-minded. He had criticized with great ability P. Gardner's *Exploratio Evangelica;* he had mourned when, as he expressed it, W. R. Inge had 'crossed the Rubicon' by abandoning the traditional conception of the character of the *Fourth Gospel;* he had stood with conservative scholars in opposition to F. C. Conybeare and Kirsopp Lake. His decision, therefore, came as a great blow to the traditionalists. It was as though Hector had deserted to the Greeks. It was urged in private that such a decision could only be the outcome of declining mental powers, and that, at any rate, any influence he might have exercised in Church circles hitherto was now at an end. It was even suggested that his impulsive chivalry towards the detested Modernists, rather than his mature judgment as a historian and theologian, had led him to side with them. Cf. the persecution of the Rev. J. M. Thompson, Dean of Divinity, Magdalen College, Oxford, and the Rev. E. A. Edgehill, B.D. of Kings College, Cambridge. The greatest credit is due to Sanday's courage. He might have remained silent or have defended the Modernists without committing himself.

The Dublin Salmon, as the result of his modern critical study of the Gospels, also became a Modernist, but, as we learn from the posthumous preface to the *Human Element in the Gospels,* hesitated to publish his conversion; but the Oxford Sanday, highly sensitive, extremely cautious conscious of heavy responsibility, proclaimed his conversion and having given his decision saw no reason to change it during the eight years of life which remained to him.

Since Dr. Sanday's death a little book of his, *The Position of Liberal Theology,* has been published. It is a criticism of the Bishop of Zanzibar's volume, *The Christ and His Critics,* and it states once again, Dr. Sanday's position in regard to the miraculous, which he asserts 'is the one crucial question, which brings to a head and includes all the rest' (p. 38).

It seemed to him that the crying needs of religious life to-day are truth and reality, simplification and intensification, and an avoidance of *a priori* reasoning in our theological thought. Though he had long hesitated, he felt at the end quite secure in his decision. He writes:

> 'The position that I have reached such as it is, is one that satisfies me.' 'I do not disclaim the name of Modernist. The name describes justly what I aim at being. I aim at thinking the thoughts and speaking the

language of my own day, and yet at the same time keeping all that is essential in the religion of the past.'[1]

His greatest achievement was the interest which he aroused in Biblical studies in Oxford. He initiated the 'Bibs', Long Vacation lectures, to stimulate the parochial clergy in the popular study of Biblical criticism, and he also created a very influential Gospel Seminar consisting of Oxford tutors in the Faculty of Theology. The inspiring leadership he exercised in these spheres and above all the example of kindness, modesty, reverence, breadth of view and sound judgment which he exhibited, is an unforgetable experience. He had the fine taste of the scholar and the old-world courtesy of the great Victorians.

A rural clergyman, attending one of his vacation lectures was so impressed by his benignity of manner and appearance that he remarked to his companion at the conclusion :

'I have often heard of the milk of human kindness, but now we have seen the cow.'

Ripon Hall retains in its chapel the folio Bible (R.V.) which Sanday presented to its lectern on resigning his Lady Margaret Professorship.

The *Modern Churchman* had the honour of publishing in its Conference number (September, 1920) the last of Sanday's public utterances—the address he delivered on Edwin Hatch (1835–1889), one of the most brilliant of our Modernist precursors.

H.D.A.M.

RICHARD BARTRAM TOLLINTON

With startling suddenness Dr. Tollinton has passed from us. He had presided with marked efficiency at the meetings of the Governing Body and Corporation of the Ripon Clergy College held at Ripon Hall on Wednesday afternoon, October 19, 1932. He died early on the following Sunday, the result of cerebral haemorrhage. As Chairman of the Governors he had just completed his Appeal for the new Ripon Hall and secured the necessary signatures to it, and was going to post a final letter concerning it when he was stricken down.

Ripon Hall owes him much. He had been a Governor for many years, and succeeded Canon Glazebrook as Chairman and Treasurer in 1924. Unfailing punctuality of attendance, administrative efficiency, social tact, a dignified presence, a fine sense of impartiality, and an enthusiasm, which expressed itself in action rather than words, characterized him in his Ripon Hall administration as in his diocesan work and in his pastoral charge.

Educated at Shrewsbury School and Balliol College, he was a true son of each. There was a deep regard for sound learning, a fine breadth of outlook, combined with sincere but unpretentious piety. He was of them who do and say not. He possessed a pleasant gift of humour, which combined with his philosophical studies had enabled him to clear his mind of cant. When one was discoursing to him of the problems of Divine Providence, he remarked characteristically that it was not the problems but 'the pinpricks of Providence' which perturbed him most.

After his First-Class in Classical Moderations and his Second-Class in *Literae Humaniores* he concentrated on the study of the Christian Philosophy of Alexandria in the second and third centuries when the Christian Religion

[1] *Divine Overruling*, p. 67.

learnt how to use Hellenic philosophic culture and classical learning to win the Pagan world to Christ. He produced four books on this period. *Clement of Alexandria* (2 vols.) in 1914; *Pyrrho, an Historical Novel,* 1926; *Selections from Origen,* 1929; and *Alexandrine Teaching on the Universe,* 1932. Undoubtedly the first was his *magnum opus*. He had been preceded in England by Bishop Westcott's precise and erudite contribution to Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography,* by Canon Biggs' *Christian Platonists of Alexandria,* and by the studies of Edwin Hatch in his incomparable Hibbert Lectures and Glover's brief and brilliant monograph in *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire,* but in his particular study Dr. Tollinton contributed much to the fuller understanding of St. Clement of Alexandria.

Dr. Tollinton had much in common with his hero. He found, in the words of John Milton,

> 'How charming is Divine Philosophy,
> Not harsh and crabbéd as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute.'

and he was convinced that the Christian Religion has profound need of philosophy in its educational and apologetic work. The humanity and urbanity, 'the sweet reasonableness' of Clement and Origen attracted him. In them rather than in Tertullian, the author of the phrase, he beheld exemplified the *anima humana naturaliter Christiana.* Their consistent, active, Christian lives devoted to Christian education in a spirit of intellectual freedom and comprehensive charity made a deep appeal to him. If he were to be Christian at all, it could only be in that way. Doubtless in this he owed not a little to Benjamin Jowett, the master of his college, and to Bishop Boyd Carpenter, whose domestic chaplain he was and whose son-in-law he became.

Dr. Tollinton did much administrative work in the Chelmsford Diocese as rector of Tendring, rural dean of St. Osyth, and for some years editor of the Chelmsford Diocesan Magazine. He was one of the oldest members of the Modern Churchmen's Union, a member of its Council, a regular attendant at its annual Conferences. He was a valued contributor to the *Modern Churchman* and to other magazines. His last contribution consisted of an article in the *Hibbert Journal* of last July on an imaginary visit of Socrates to Jerusalem. Nothwithstanding Thomas Carlyle's *dictum,* Socrates was not 'terribly at ease in Zion'. He felt himself to be in the precincts of a tribal and semi-barbarous religion, and he had no wish to exchange it for his own. The article reflected the conviction of its writer that not Judaism, nor even Jewish Christianity is the destined Religion of Mankind, but the universal elements in the teaching of Jesus Christ set in the framework of philosophical thought.

Enlightened, reverent, and tolerant; a steady opponent of both Catholic and Protestant fanaticism; a sincere believer in the character and call of the Church of England, he represented a type of Modernist who can ill be spared from our ranks.

H.D.A.M.

FREDERICK JOHN FOAKES-JACKSON, D.D.

On December 1, 1941, at the age of eighty-six, Professor Foakes-Jackson died at New Jersey, U.S.A. The Modern Churchmen's cause owed not a little to his services. He, in conjunction with Professor Kirsopp Lake and Miss Dora Nussey, played a leading part in initiating the first Modern Churchmen's Annual Conference held at Ripon in 1914 on the eve of the Great War.

He presided at its second Annual Conference at Rugby in 1915. That same year he helped to found the Birmingham Branch of the Modern Churchmen's Union, of which Sir William Ashley became the first President. It must have given Dr. Foakes-Jackson no little satisfaction to learn before his death that his old pupil, Dr. H. G. Wood, had been appointed the first Professor of Theology in the University of Birmingham.

Although educated at Eton and Trinity College, Foakes-Jackson will always be remembered academically as Fellow and Dean of Jesus College, Cambridge. In his studies he was no narrow departmentalist, but possessed a wide culture and many-sided interests. As a member of the Theological Faculty of Cambridge, his interests were mainly Biblical and ecclesiastical. *Beginnings of Christianity,* a collection of studies in the *Acts of the Apostles,* undertaken with Professor Kirsopp Lake, constitutes his most outstanding contribution to ecclesiastical research. His essay on the romantic horse-thief, Margaret Catchpole, his grandfather's servant—used by Foakes-Jackson to illustrate the interweaving of fact and fiction in ancient narrative, and to stress the moral that the presence of fictitious details in a story ought not to be allowed to discredit its truth as a whole—will probably be recalled when Foakes-Jackson's more erudite essays are forgotten.

Research, however, was not really his sphere. His gifts were primarily those of an educationist. He had a great gift of humour, and he selected illuminating, unforgettable incidents and *dicta* to illustrate his expositions. He was one of the most inspiring of tutors and produced a great body of brilliant pupils. It was said that at one time there were no less than ten Deans of Cambridge Colleges who had been tutored by Foakes-Jackson.

He was full of vitality and vigour—certainly no dry-as-dust don, and he had little patience with the faultily faultless precisionist. Perhaps we may cite the following conversation to illustrate this. We were discussing with him the merits of a younger Cambridge theologian much in favour in ecclesiastical circles. Foakes-Jackson was very disparaging in his comments. We replied, 'But surely he is a competent scholar; he does *know.*' Foakes-Jackson: 'Oh yes, he knows' (with emphasis), 'he knows it *all,* but he knows it all *wrong.*' And then, in quiet tones,

'Although he wrote it all by rote
He did not write it right.'

H.D.A.M.

KIRSOPP LAKE

(1872—1946)

The death of Kirsopp Lake in his Californian home, whither he had retired in 1938 as Professor Emeritus after a strenuous academic career of nearly a quarter of a century in Harvard University, has deprived the scholastic world of a brilliant personality. Born in 1872, educated at St. Paul's and Lincoln College, Oxford, his university career, although respectable, hardly promised the reputation which he later achieved as a scholar. It was, we believe, the influence exerted over him by the original and fearless personality of F. C. Conybeare, Fellow of University College, Oxford, which was the main factor in Lake's development. It was Conybeare who initiated Lake into the mysteries and problems of New Testament palaeography and textual criticism.

Ordained in 1895, Lake became curate of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, in 1897, and Professor of the New Testament in Leiden University in 1904 in succession to that amazingly brilliant scholar Rendel Harris. He terminated

his influential career at Leiden by becoming Professor of Early Christian History in Harvard University in 1914, where on his arrival he preached a sermon in Harvard Chapel in which he compared his own career to that of the Pilgrim Fathers who sought their religious freedom by emigrating from England to Holland but in time, realizing the limitations of their continental abode, resolved to seek their spiritual home in New England. Lake, like the Pilgrim Fathers, would gladly have remained in England. But his intellectual originality combined with the fearlessness of his utterances—he was neither a 'safe man' nor a 'yes man'—proved detrimental to his promotion both in academic and ecclesiastical circles.

Lake's Inaugural Lecture at Leiden (published in England), in which he concluded that the Triune Baptismal Formula in *Matt.* xxviii, 19, was no part of the original Gospel but an interpolation, and that the reference to water in the discourse of Jesus with Nicodemus in *John* iii was also an interpolation, did him no good in English clerical circles. In 1914 some of his friends sought to secure his appointment to a Canonry in Westminster Abbey, but Mr. Asquith, having read Lake's volume *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ,* decided that he could not nominate him.

Although a deeply attached member of the Church of England, Lake resolved when emigrating to the U.S.A. to keep himself free from all ecclesiastical denominational entanglements, but retained his name in *Crockford.* Henceforth he was an ecclesiastical free lance.

In the period which preceded his emigration to the U.S.A. Lake gave unstinted and generous support to the Modern Churchmen's Union, of which he was a vice-president for many years. The holding of our first annual Modern Churchmen's Conference in 1914 at Ripon originated with him. I recall his travelling from London to Ripon and back again the same day in order to discuss the project and practical plans for its realization.

When the *Modern Churchman* was founded early in 1911, Lake most generously offered his illuminating and arresting studies, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul,* for publication in the successive monthly issues of our magazine. I should most gladly have accepted his generous offer but for the fact that the *Interpreter,* edited by Hewlett Johnson, was then engaged in trying to popularize modern critical study of the Bible among the English clergy, and I had no desire that the *Modern Churchman* should appear as a rival to the *Interpreter.*

Although Lake had achieved a great reputation as a New Testament textual critic before emigration to America, he increased his reputation by his co-operation with Dr. Foakes Jackson and other scholars in bringing out the monumental contribution to the understanding of Christian origins, entitled *The Beginnings of Christianity* (five volumes). In later years his publications have been almost entirely concerned with the technicalities of New Testament textual criticism, and in this department the competent and devoted co-operation of Mrs. Lake has played no small part.

In his earlier stages of New Testament textual research Lake was much attracted by the Western Text, so called, and thought its authority in a number of cases was to be preferred to the Neutral Text of Westcott and Hort. But he confessed to me in his later years that further research had led him steadly away from that position.

Educated English readers who are not technical scholars but may desire to benefit from Lake's teaching cannot do better than read his *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, their Motive and Origin,* and his hand-book to the criticism of the New Testament. This last, published a few years ago (not to be confused with an earlier little book by him on the same theme), is far the

best text-book for those who wish to understand what is meant by New Testament textual and literary criticism.

Professor Manson, in a contribution to *The Times* of November 23, admirably summarizes Lake's contribution to the literary and historical criticism of the New Testament.

> 'The best examples are *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* and the last two volumes of *The Beginnings of Christianity*. His work here is outstanding for immense knowledge of the relevant literature and lucid presentation of the most complex problems. Even where his solutions are unacceptable, his statement of the case is always a clarification of the issues.'

Lake as a personality could only be really understood by his intimates. I can think of no better words with which to introduce him to others than Hamlet's soliloquy on Yorick:

> 'Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him, Horatio; a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy. . . .'

Lake possessed a droll sense of humour exhibited in unexpected ways. Before his ordination, the Principal of Cuddesdon urged him to make his confession. Lake asked the Principal to give his reasons. The Pricipal responded with a lengthy statement. At its conclusion Lake said, 'Your argument is convincing, but there is an insuperable obstacle in my case: I cannot remember anything to confess'.

He coined many brilliant epigrams which have since been attributed to others. His humour, though usually genial, exhibited at times a sardonic quality. A group of Liberal Churchmen were seriously discussing what precisely Canon Henson meant by the phrase *ex animo* when, before his consecration as Bishop of Hereford, he declared to Archbishop Davidson that he affirmed all the articles of the Creed *ex animo*—a term which had been deliberately omitted from the Declaration of Subscription in 1865. Lake terminated the discussion by observing that he suspected that Henson's meaning was more correctly expressed by another Latin phrase, *Cum grano salis*.

H.D.A.M.

CHARLES JENKINSON
(1887—1949)

By his death on August 3rd, the Modernist cause has lost a devoted and influential adherent in the person of the Rev. Alderman Charles Jenkinson, M.A., Ll.B., Chairman of the Stevenage New Town Development Corporation.

Charles Jenkinson was sprung from rural stock in the Eastern Counties. In the First World War he served in the R.A.M.C., mainly in Mesopotamia. At the conclusion of the war he entered Cambridge University, becoming a member of Fitzwilliam House, and graduated in the Law Tripos. In 1921 he entered Ripon Hall to train for Holy Orders and was ordained in 1923 to the curacy of Barking, Essex, by the Bishop of Chelmsford, Dr. Watts-Ditchfield, by whose inspiring evangelical teaching and example he had been greatly influenced in his early manhood.

The influence of Watts-Ditchfield on the religious life of Jenkinson was next supplemented by association with Conrad Noel of Thaxted, the internationalist, communist and ecclesiastical aesthete, whose father, a peer, was the author of *The Red Flag*.

Next followed in the evolution of Jenkinson's religious life the Liberal

churchmanship and critical theological teaching of Ripon Hall. This last influence led him to become a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union and the founder of the society of Old Riponians.

What is of significance in the religious evolution of Jenkinson is the way in which these three stages of religious education supplemented each other and made him an all-round English Churchman in a very remarkable degree. He was one of the hardest-working of men, rising early and going to bed late, to whom holidays were unknown. Unflinchinghly courageous, persistently resolute, he posessed an imperturbable temper with immense practical ability which regarded the smallest details as of importance. A vicar in a provincial city and hon. chaplain to his bishop were the highest of his Church honours. Although not destined to become an ecclesiastical dignitary, he became a great civic servant.

Whilst living in the East End of London he had experienced the sordid character of slum life and the urgent need for its abolition in our English civilization. His opportunity to take part in this crusade to which he felt himself called became his when, four years after his ordination, he was appointed vicar of the combined slum parishes of St. John and St. Barnabas, Holbeck, Leeds, in 1927. Three years later he was elected a Labour member of Leeds City Council and shortly after became the leader of the Labour party on the Council. And in 1933, when his party came into power, Jenkinson was enabled to institute a remarkable slum clearance policy costing the municipality £12,000,000. His scheme was many-sided. It obliterated the slums of his parish. It erected the great block of Corporation flats at Quarry Hill. It instituted a system of differential rents determined by the size of families and their available means. It insisted on new bedding and new well-designed furniture being substituted for the verminous and insanitary 'household gods' of the slums. All that he projected and much of which he accomplished will best be realized by the study of his essay, *Our Housing Objective,* published in 1944.

When his party was defeated at the Leeds municipal election in 1936 he withdrew from municipal politics to devote himself solely to clerical life for seven years in the new suburb he had created. However, in 1943 he was again returned to the Leeds Council and became an alderman, and the Ministry of Health appointed him a member of the Central Advisory Housing Committee. In 1948 he resigned his living at Belle Isle in order to devote all his time and energy to the solution of the national housing problem, and whilst so engaged fell ill and died at the age of sixty-two.

In concluding our obituary notice of this remarkable man there are two of his characteristics which ought especially to be recorded.

Although 'a man of the people' and a member of the I.L.P. from the age of twenty-one, he seemed to be entirely free from political malignancy and class prejudice. A specialist in the study of vermin, its various species, conditions of development, methods of extirpation, he was never led to apply the term 'verminous' to his political critics and opponents. He regarded every patriotic and responsible and philanthropic citizen as deserving of respect and goodwill whatever his political party.

Another characteristic, too often conspicuous by its absence in political circles, was his absolute consistency. His convictions, his speeches, his conduct and character were in absolute agreement. Popular flattery, insincere sentimentality, misleading rhetoric were detestable to him. Perhaps the greatest tribute we ever heard paid to his character was by one who did not belong to his political party. 'National Socialism would work, if all our citizens were like Charles Jenkinson.'

H.D.A.M.

ALFRED LESLIE LILLEY

(1860—1947)

By the sudden death of Archdeacon Lilley on January 31st, while reading *The Times'* obituary notice of Mahatma Gandhi, the Modernist cause in this country has lost a beloved and stalwart adherent. An Irishman born in the Protestant North in 1860, educated at St. Columba's and Trinity College, Dublin, ordained in 1889, he held his first curacy in Ireland and then migrated to England and became Vicar of St. Mary's, Paddington, in 1900. There by the quality of his teaching he attracted an educated congregation. In 1911 Bishop Percival appointed him to a residentiary canonry, where he had as his fellow-canons Hastings Rashdall and B. H. Streeter; in 1913 he became Archdeacon of Ludlow.

Admirable as a cathedral preacher, he was not less admirable as an archdeacon, for he combined in a remarkble degree practical wisdom, charming courtesy and a cultured understanding of ecclesiastical buildings and institutions. Perhaps his most valuable service to his fellow-churchmen consisted in his exposition of the Modernist movement in the Roman Church, which achieved its greatest influence in the tenth decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Lilley was an excellent linguist, and combined with his knowledge of the classical tongues a fluency in French, German and Italian; this linguistic knowledge, united to his sympathetic understanding of medieval scholasticism, provided him with an unrivalled equipment for the masterly exposition of Romanist Modernism. Among his closest friends were Father George Tyrrell and Baron Friedrich von Hügel. Lilley's exposition of the causes, aims and methods of the Roman Modernists first appeared in the form of numerous articles in the English press. *The Programme of Modernism,* his volume on this theme which appeared in 1908 after Romanist Modernism had received its death-blow from the encyclical *Dominici Pascendi Gregis* (issued by Pope Pius X from St. Peter's, September 8th, 1907), remains the most reliable account we have of that heroic movement. Lilley's masterly introduction is followed by a translation from the Italian of the Modernist reply to the papal encyclical, and concludes with a translation from the Latin of the encyclical itself. This encyclical, it will be recalled, condemned Modernism in the harshest terms as the 'synthesis of all the heresies' and as the deadly enemy not only of Catholicism but even of religion itself; it authorized a policy of delation and suppression, as a result of which those who had risked all to provide a traditional Catholicism with a modern apology were either driven from the Roman Church or reduced to a demoralizing silence.

Lilley, who had been an Evangelical Protestant and then an Anglo-Catholic, now stood forth as an English Modernist and so remained until his death. He was a member of the first Modern Churchmen's Conference at Ripon in 1914. He was well known as a Select Preacher before the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and he served as a Chaplain to the Forces in the First World War.

He published numerous volumes: *Sir Joshua Fitch,* 1906; *Adventus Regni,* 1907; *Modernism,* 1908; *The Soul of St. Paul,* 1909; *The Religion of Life,* 1910; *Nature and Supernature,* 1911; *Prayer in Christian Theology,* 1924; *Worship,* 1926; *Sacraments,* 1928; *Religion and Revelation,* 1932; and contributions to *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* 1919. Were we to select one of these for Lenten reading for good Churchpeople, we should commend *Sacraments; a Study of Some Moments in an Attempt to Define their Meaning for Christian Worship,* dedicated to his fellow-

canons at Hereford. Lilley, a reverent sacramentalist, thus states the aims of his volume: 'to correct the tendency to magical conceptions from which sacramental practice is never wholly free' and to interpret the Sacraments in the light of 'the ideas of symbolism and instrumentality'.

His personal kindnesses were many. We venture to cite one instance: his generous support of Mrs. Oscar Wilde after the tragedy which befell her husband.

The *Hereford Times* of February 7th, 1947, in its full obituary notice testifies to the highest estimation which was felt for Archdeacon Lilley in the diocese, and cites the following appreciation of him as a teacher of religion from A. G. Gardiner's *Pillars of Society*: 'In his preaching there is neither dogma nor controversy. It is always of the Kingdom that he speaks'.

H.D.A.M.

EDWARD PERCY BOYS-SMITH
(1861—1940)

A deeply revered member has been lost to the Modern Churchmen's Union by the death of the Rev. E. P. Boys-Smith on November 20 at the age of seventy-nine. Educated at Sherborne and St. John's College, Cambridge, he was ordained in 1886. After holding several curacies in the Winchester Diocese, he became Vicar of Hordle, where he remained for forty years. In 1927 he was appointed Rural Dean of Lyndhurst in the New Forest. A faithful and beloved pastor, respected by his fellow-clergy,

'Along the cool sequester'd vale of life
He kept the noiseless tenour of his way.'

Many years ago he became a member of the Modern Churchmen's Union and was assiduous and most helpful in his attendance at our annual conferences.

The following appreciation expresses admirably the character of his influence in the Church circles in which he moved:

SIR,

As a member for many years of the local Bournemouth and District Branch of the Modern Churchmen's Union, I desire to pay a last tribute of gratitude and respect to our late Chairman, the Rev. E. P. Boys-Smith. Those of us who had the privilege to hear him summing up the discussion will always remember his fitly-chosen words to express thought clearly grasped. We were inspired by his fearless devotion to truth and his simple humility before the mystery of God.

Personally, I am deeply grateful for his constructive teaching on the Holy Communion, clearly expressed in his article 'The Heathen Heritage of the Church', *Modern Churchman,* October, 1940.

URSULA WELLS, S.Th.L.T.

ROBERT GLADSTONE GRIFFITH

The Modern Churchmen's Union has sustained a grievous loss in the death of Robert Gladstone Griffith, Vice-Chairman and Honorary Secretary of the Union, who died on October 17th, 1950, as the result of a motoring accident. R.G.G. had just entered upon his retirement from direct parochial responsibility and was eagerly preparing for special activity on behalf of the Union under arrangements which had been made whereby he could give the

whole of his time to the work with which he was so deeply in love. He had acquired a new home in an ideal setting and a new phase seemed to have opened offering him the opportunity to bring to full expression his sense of mission towards the dissemination of Modernism within the Anglican Communion.

After forty years as an ordained priest of the Church of England, R.G.G. had reached the stage when his own ideas were clear and his sense of purpose intensified. Always anxious to work in the less crowded centres, he had held a series of livings including twelve years as Rector and Vicar of Farnborough from 1927-39. Here he came to clear realization of the great possibilities of Modernism and the need for it within the Church, and contributed much both in the counsels of the Union and also in the series of books which he put out during the early 'thirties. All the time he was seeking to bring out the significance of Modernism as he understood it for the life of the parish and for the understanding of the average parishioner. He had a unique gift for bringing that message within the understanding of the ordinary layman and also of translating it even into the methods of the religious education of the young. For this he had a particular flair: he understood the mind of the child because he himself had the strength of character blended with great spirituality which can alone enter in to the inner thoughts of the simple as well as of the complex. Progessively he moved through a developing experience and there crystallized out in his mind a strong urge to stand forward in challenge of what he considered to be wrongful exercise of ecclesiastical authority. Parallel with this, he was most active in the work of the Modern Churchmen's Union towards restatement of Christian doctrine in the light of modern scholarship whilst preserving its living Gospel as the hope of human salvation. For him Christianity has to be relived by each generation and re-expressed in inspiring and convincing terms: he was particularly insistent on the need for revision of the Creeds and Liturgy of the Church.

During the second world war he experienced heavy family sorrows which he bore with great fortitude and patience.

. . . His scholarship was of a high order and he spent much time in writing and publishing brochures in explanation of the Modernist position. Coupled with this, he had an overwhelming sense of what he regarded as the injustice of the authoritative pronouncements in the Church on the status of the innocent but divorced person. He was prepared to challenge any apparent wrongful exercise of that authority with a courage which commanded respect. With no regard of the consequences for himself, he was prepared to marry such persons in his own church, and there can be no doubt but that he has by his fearless insistence in this matter, supported by the thesis contained in the late G. L. H. Harvey's brochures which gave the Union such a very clear status in this sphere, demonstrated the need for episcopal authority to observe due limits in interfering with the proper discretion of the parish priest.

HENRY SELF

JOHN CHARLTON HARDWICK
(1885—1953)

We record with a deep sense of loss the death of the Rev. J. C. Hardwick, Vice-President of the Modern Churchmen's Union and co-Editor of the *Modern Churchman,* who passed away at Partington Vicarage, on January 27th, 1953. Born in 1885 of a Lincolnshire stock, with a churchwardens' ancestry like Jeremy Taylor, Hardwick was educated at King's School, Grantham, where he acquired a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue and proceeded in due course to Hatfield Hall, Durham University, then under

the Mastership of Prof. F. B. Jevons for whom Hardwick conceived a profound veneration. He graduated with second class honours in Classics.

Hardwick and I met first at Ripon in 1910. Canon J. B. Harford, D.D., Principal of Ripon Theological College, directed me as Vice-Principal to interview Hardwick who had applied for admission. I recall the interview vividly. I enquired: 'You are seeking ordination?' To which he replied: 'Yes, I have resolved to give it a try but I don't know whether I can stick it.' That reply delighted me by its complete sincerity and nothing which occurred in the subsequent forty-two years did anything to weaken that first impression.

In 1911 Hardwick entered Ripon Clergy College and was ordained the same year by Dr. Jayne, Bishop of Chester, and became curate to the Vicar of Dunham Massey, the present Dean of Canterbury, in whose parish he served for ten years. His long curacy under Hewlett Johnson was not only due to mutual regard but also to the fact that in their religion both were convinced Biblical and doctrinal Liberals. Politically, Hardwick was not a Communist. He stood outside all political parties.

On my first visit to Dunham Massey, after Hardwick became curate, I called on him and naturally asked him if he found his environment congenial. He replied. 'Oh, yes!' I then said: 'I believe you have a fellow curate.' He replied sententiously, 'I have a colleague.' I then said:. 'I hope you get on well with him.' He replied: 'Very well, we are both good trades-unionists.' I asked: 'What do you mean by that?' He replied: 'Why, of course, we both combine against the vicar.' This reply was typical of his sardonic humour and contempt of cant.

Another personal characteristic was Hardwick's heroism. When a student at Ripon he began to suffer from an obscure spinal complaint which produced increasing lameness and in later years made walking, and finally even standing, impossible. How much pain he suffered one could not tell, but the personal inconvenience caused by his complaint was terrible, yet he never complained either by speech, letter or demeanour and continued to discharge his clerical duties until the very end. He owed much to the devotion of his sister, the unfailing sympathy and consideration of his diocesan authorities and the kindness of his parishioners.

He possessed the consolation of wide intellectual interests. But these interests were all connected with religion and were treated in the following series of volumes between the years 1920 and 1938.

> *Religion and Science from Galileo to Bergson,* 1920; *Institutional Religion,* 1929; *Freedom and Authority in Religion,* 1932; *Lawn Sleeves —a short Life of Samuel Wilberforce,* 1933; *The Light that Failed,* 1933; *What to Believe,* 1935; *No Casual Creed,* 1937; *While I was Musing,* 1948.

One volume is omitted from this series as the author himself omitted it from Crockford. It is *The Professional Christian*—a fictitious satire on the rise of a species of clericalism—the outcome of the First World War. Prompted by *saeva indignatio* this book, although true enough in detail, did less than justice to its victims and to the English clergy as a body. Hardwick also published another piece of fiction, a very readable book for boys, *Master and Man,* describing Wat Tyler's rebellion. It is a pity he did not write more such stories. It brings out his keen appreciation of the beauty of Nature which with literature and religion and human fellowship constituted the four-fold sources of joy in his life.

In 1921, after his ten years as a curate, I invited him to come to Ripon Hall as Chaplain. At that time the Hall was situated across the road from

Wadham and he was admitted as a member of that college and graduated as B.Sc. in 1923. After his graduation he was offered the Vicarage of Partington, a rural parish on the banks of the Manchester ship canal and as he found the climate of Oxford trying, especially during long vacation term, he went to Partington and never moved again. He was select preacher to the University of Cambridge in 1930.

His scientific study of religion was inspired by Prof. F. B. Jevons, whose eminence in Comparative Religion, Classical Culture and Christian Liberalism constituted him for Hardwick 'the Master of them that know'.

Hardwick's researches for his earliest book, *Religion and Science from Galileo to Bergson,* provided him with an excellent *point d'appui* for his future studies and publications in what was now his life-task—the teaching of the true Christian Religion, as he understood it, to his modern-minded fellow human beings. From this time onward he became a regular and valued contributor to the *Modern Churchman.* During his last illness Hardwick was engaged in the preparation of an article for the *Modern Churchman* on Croce's philosophy of the spirit, ethics and politics.

Of his books, the latest, *While I was Musing,* is the best reflection of his personal religion. It consists of some fifty meditations on the Psalms. Commenting on Psalm cxxx, 'Out of the deep I have cried unto Thee', Hardwick writes :

> 'That a man when in the depths should call upon God we all know to be the wisest course; yet to do so may not be easy. In such a position he feels too depressed and discouraged to make an effort, and a sense of defilement may make him hesitate to approach God. It is a long way up from the depths to those levels where he may walk with God. Yet when a man is down and in despair about himself he does experience that sense of dependence which for many is the beginning of religion. He feels that he *needs* God, and so calls upon Him. Nor is God ever deaf to such a prayer of earnest desire for redemption. Perhaps not until we have been in the depths, and have called out of them to God for succour, do we really understand the need for God as the saints have felt it' (p. 131).

Were we required to select Hardwick's epitaph, it would be G. F. Bradby's couplet :

> 'Brave living here: and then beyond the grave
> More life and more adventure for the brave.'

H.D.A.M.

SEVEN OVERSEA MEMBERS

ALEXANDER GRISWOLD CUMMINS

1869—1946

The Protestant Episcopal Church of U.S.A. has lost from the ranks of its leaders an outstanding personality by the death of Alexander Griswold Cummins. Born in Smyrna, Del., in 1869, a member of an old colonial family, possessed of a substantial fortune, he resolved to enter the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, for which he received his final training at the General Theological Seminary, New York. Ordained in 1892, he was appointed to a curacy in the New York diocese, and in that diocese he pursued his minis-

terial career until his recent retirement. It was at Poughkeepsie, where he was appointed rector in 1900 and laboured for forty-six years, that he became known as an enterprising, eloquent and greatly beloved pastor. At the outset of his ministry he achieved a daring reform—how daring only a parochial clergyman can realize—when he replaced the mouldering heaps of 'the rude forefathers of the hamlet' which surrounded the parish church by a charming landscape garden. Another parochial reform was the building of a Sunday school which in its arrangement and equipment became the model for many others in America.

In 1901 he founded the *Chronicle* (published at Poughkeepsie), a Protestant Episcopal monthly which he edited with fearlessness and humour. Its avowed purpose was to maintain the liberal evangelical ideals of the American Church against the rising tide of a detrimental Anglo-Catholicism. With this purpose in view he also became founder and treasurer of the Protestant Episcopal Church League. In a document entitled *Let's Look at the Record,* 'published at the request of prominent laymen of fourteen Protestant Episcopal dioceses,' he analysed and summarized the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in U.S.A. as he saw it, and emphasized the insidious tendencies and policies which seemed to him to threaten the influence of his beloved Church. After a hard struggle for survival that Church seemed in the latter half of the nineteenth century to have every prospect of becoming the most influential Reformed Communion in U.S.A. It was growing rapidly, not simply in numbers and in the increase of its parishes and dioceses, but in the sphere of religious leadership and social influence. Many of its clergy, drawn from old colonial families, were men of standing and culture who in any other sphere of life would have been men of mark. An increasing number of laymen of the educated classes enlarged the membership of the Church: its philanthropic, social and educational institutions were in the front rank. The document to which we have referred presents the situation thus:

> 'It [the Church] became a national asset . . . Its increasing momentum seemed to promise that it would become the largest Protestant church in the United States.'

Then there come from overseas the Oxford Movement resolved to 'de-Protestantize' the American Church. Wherever that movement has gained control,

> 'Roman teaching and practices prevail. As a result, thousands of loyal Episcopalians have been driven from the church they love. . . . As the Roman Catholic Church drives hard to control the ecclesiastical destinies of the United States, Anglo-Catholics, either intentionally or stupidly, play right into the hands of the Roman hierarchy through their propapalism. . . . Wherever Anglo-Catholics infiltrate themselves into liberal church organizations they methodically wreck them.'

What we have cited from this document sufficiently indicates the apprehension and antagonism excited by Anglo-Catholicism which inspired the resolution of Dr. Cummins to check its influence and thwart its machinations. Although he had behind him the support of many of the laity, yet, Anglo-Catholicism being an essentially clerical movement, he had the sorrow of witnessing an increasing number of the clergy and bishops of his cherished Church directly or indirectly supporting its menacing influence.

But his life was a many-sided one. He was known as the friend of every good cause in the country and his own generosity and powers of eloquent appeal enabled him to secure much support for philanthropic enterprises. On the completion of his ministerial jubilee he was pulicly congratulated by President Roosevelt. He was well known in English Church circles, and in

pre-war days was a constant visitor to this country. He preached in Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral, Canterbury Cathedral, St. Giles', Edinburgh, and many other of our great basilican churches.

He was a Vice-President of the Modern Churchmen's Union, and his genial humour and social gifts made him a very popular member of our annual conferences.

H.D.A.M.

HERBERT SYMONDS, LL.D., D.D.

Vice-President of the Churchmen's Union, Vicar of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal

By Canon PLUMPTRE, M.A., Rector of St. James' Cathedral, Toronto

Broad Churchmen have been called 'a feeble-folk'. Their message, it has been said, lacks power, and does not grip and inspire men. 'High Churchmen we know, Evangelicals we know, but who are ye?' the world is supposed to be saying.

No one who saw the funeral of the late Dr. Symonds could say or think such a thing. During the previous day and on the morning of the funeral service a ceaseless stream of friends came to look their last on the man they loved. Laymen stood by his coffin during the dark hours of the night. Wreaths and floral tributes of every description were piled in heaps around it. At the service every nook and corner of the cathedral was crowded: outside as far as the eye could reach was a solid mass of humanity—'more than when the Prince of Wales was here.'

Who was this man whose passing stopped for a brief space the wheels of industry in Montreal, round whose bier merchant princes, college professors, labouring men and women stood silent and dim-eyed, and about whom a week after his funeral 'everybody' (a visitor to Montreal said) 'still seemed talking?'

Herbert Symonds came to Canada in 1880 from a farmer's home in Suffolk. He was educated at Trinity College Toronto; ordained deacon in 1885, and priest in 1887. From 1885 to 1891 he served his college first as Lecturer, then as Professor of Divinity. For ten years he was Rector of St. Luke's, Ashburnham, a pleasant suburb of the country town of Peterborough. In 1901 he was made Headmaster of Trinity College School, Port Hope. In 1903 he accepted the position of Vicar of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, where he spent the last eighteen years of his life.

He was a man of the broadest culture, touching life at many points. Philosophy, history, science, sociology, painting, poetry, botany, sport—he was keenly interested in them all, and talked easily about them. Every literary and artistic society in Montreal found in him a patron and often a president. He lectured charmingly on Dickens: his sermon-lectures during Lent in the cathedral on 'In Memoriam' cannot be forgotten by those who heard them; he preached often on the novels of the day: *The Inside of the Cup, Sonia,* and Mr. H. G. Wells' writings. 'An hour's talk with Dr. Symonds was an intellectual treat,' said one who was at the opposite pole of Churchmanship. Yet with all his intellectual gifts he was the humblest of men, never forcing his learning upon his company, putting himself without apparent effort upon their level. It was this wide range of culture which gave him a unique hold upon the McGill University. In early days students flocked to his sermons, and latterly he delivered a series of Bible Lectures on Sunday afternoons, attended by some 250 leading men and women of Montreal.

All through his life he was a fearless advocate of 'the New Learning.'

'Canada to-day is where England was twenty-five years ago' was the remark (hardly exaggerated) recently made by a newly-arrived theological professor. Yet in this backward and benighted country Dr. Symonds was a staunch upholder and powerful preacher of Higher Criticism a quarter of a century ago, and it is still remembered how a prominent Churchman of the Conservative school said, when Dr. Symonds was appointed to the Headmastership of Port Hope School, that he would rather put his boy in a nest of rattlesnakes than consign him to the care of Dr. Symonds.

The central interest of his life was Christian Unity. From Ashburnham comes the following characteristic tale. Having to take a Sunday service in a small country place where Anglican and Presbyterian churches faced one another on opposite sides of the road, while a single shed was used to shelter the horses during service-time, Symonds remarked: 'It looks as if the horses were more Christian than we are.'

In 1899 he published his small book on *Christian Unity,* which is on somewhat similar lines to H. A. Wilson's *Episcopacy and Unity*. In 1913 he was the chief instigator and first President of the Church Unity League, a League of Anglican Churchmen who aimed at securing from the General Synod permission to invite clergy from other denominations to preach in Anglican pulpits and their members to communicate at our altars, in each case with the sanction of the bishop of the diocese. The League did a useful work in preparing the way for the recent Lambeth proposals, but the fierce opposition of the bishops and the breaking out of the war brought its activities to a somewhat untimely end. Several times also Dr. Symonds accepted invitations to preach in Presbyterian and other pulpits. 'I would preach in the Roman Catholic cathedral,' he said, 'if the Archbishop would ask me.' His acceptance was generally followed by an ecclesiastical outcry, and the price he paid for these acts of Christian courtesy was the persistent refusal of the Montreal clergy to send him as one of the representatives to the General Synod of the Church.

Two positions of public responsibility were held by Dr. Symonds, showing how widely he was trusted by his fellow-citizens. For many years he was Chairman of the Protestant Board of Education in Montreal, and when the conscience of that city was recently stirred by revelations of the white slave traffic, he was elected Chairman of 'The Committee of Sixteen,' a band of public-spirited men and women who laboured heroically to stem the sordid tide. But Symonds himself was far more than all he did.

SIR HENRY FITZ-MAURICE

1886—1952

The Modern Churchmen's Union has lost a valued member by the death of the Rev. Sir Henry Fitz-Maurice, K.B.E., C.M.G., who, after a distinguished career in the Consular Service in the Far East (Siam, Indo-China and the Dutch Indies) was ordained in 1940 by the Bishop of Chichester and was presented by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury to the Vicarage of Brenchley, Kent, in 1943, which he held until his sudden death on January 20, 1952.

Joining the Modern Churchmen's Union shortly after ordination, his unique experience secured for him a leading place in its counsels and activities. He became Chairman of the Kent Branch and was thereafter elected a member of the Council of the M.C.U. He was 'a live Modernist' and a regular attendant at the Modern Churchmen's Annual Conferences, where his services as chairman were much appreciated. He exemplified in his pastoral life the

soundness of the policy of ordaining to the Church's Ministry laymen who have had a preliminary and honourable experience in non-clerical circles.

The writer of this notice once remarked to Canon Glazebrook: 'Canon J. M. Wilson, your predecessor at Clifton College, told me he had had the inestimable advantage of being a layman for 40 years before his ordination.' Canon Glazebrook replied: 'I was in my 39th year when I was ordained.'

And what a strength they were to enlightened liberal Churchmanship.

H.D.A.M.

ARTHUR HENRY GARNSEY

The Modernist cause in the Australian Commonwealth has lost a valiant and able supporter by the decease of Arthur Henry Garnsey in 1944. Australian born, he was educated in the Commonwealth and graduated in 1894 in the University of Sydney. His early studies were classical; but later he devoted himself to theological studies and finally became a Fellow of the Australian College of Theology. He was ordained in 1897, and after holding several pastoral posts he concentrated on education and was particularly interested in training students for Holy Orders.

He was appointed Warden of St. John's College, Armidale, in 1907, and passed on to the Wardenship of St. Paul's College in the University of Sydney, holding the post from 1916 until 1940. He became a Canon of Armidale Cathedral and later a Canon of Sydney. He was examining chaplain to various prelates, including the Archbishop of Sydney, and attained the distinction of being elected a Senator of Sydney University. He was a close friend and champion of that notable Australian Presbyterian scholar, Professor Angus, tried six times for heresy in his own communion.

Loyal to the principles and practices of the Church of England, Canon Garnsey was also a strong believer in progressive and dynamic Christianity, and never hesitated to range himself on the side of Truth and Freedom in Christian communities not noticeably conspicuous for their devotion to critical research and progressive thinking in the sphere of religion.

Canon Garnsey had two links with the University of Oxford. He was nephew of a Fellow of Magdalen who caused some innocent merriment in University circles by leaving a legacy to his College on condition that not a single penny of it was to be spent on education. Later, when Canon Garnsey visited Oxford, Magdalen—loyal like all Oxford Colleges to the memory of its benefactors—invited the Canon to dine in Hall and join the Fellows in the Senior Common Room enlarged and renovated by his Uncle's Legacy.

Canon Garnsey's son, David, was a Rhodes Scholar of New College, Oxford, and a student of Ripon Hall, becoming curate of the University Church from 1934 to 1938.

BISHOP MERCER OF TASMANIA

Liberal Churchmanship in Tasmania has lost much by the death of its Bishop. John Edward Mercer was unequivocally a theological liberal; on this point he never sought to conceal or obscure his attitude. In his own person he stood as a living refutation of the libel that the modernist is incapable of securing the confidence and affection of the 'simple believer.'

Bishop Mercer's work as a parish clergyman for twenty years at Newton Heath and Gorton, Manchester, is still remembered; it 'lingers as a memory of a strong man, gifted in preaching and organisation,' as the Vicar of an important Manchester parish writes to us. Promotion came in 1902, when he

was appointed to the See of Tasmania, where he remained for twelve years, and where he proved himself to be the type of man that our colonials understand and trust. He won the respect not only of churchpeople, but of some elements of the community whom his official position alone would have done nothing to conciliate. Without being a 'court-chaplain to King Demos,' he won the confidence and respect of the Labour Unions. He was notably simple and unconventional in his manner, treated all alike, and was no respecter of persons.

On returning to England in 1914, he was appointed to a residentiary canonry at Chester, where he gave much help to Bishop Jayne, whose health failed somewhat towards the end of his tenure of office. It was at this period of his career that the present writer came into contact with him, and is able strongly to support the verdict of a country Vicar in the Chester diocese, who said: 'His confirmation addresses were excellent—he never talked rot.' Those addresses were indeed the very best of their kind that the present writer has ever listened to; in particular, one on the hymn, 'Our blest Redeemer . . ,' delivered, if we recollect rightly, in 1917, he remembers very clearly, and the impression that it made on the young people and their parents. And this is not a point of secondary importance, but a fact of great significance; for here was a man who as a metaphysician had very few superiors in Anglican orders, and was in touch with all the most recent results of scientific research, who yet was able to speak to the hearts and understandings of simple believers without bowing in the slightest degree to the Rimmon of a conventional traditionalism. He was able to do this because, scientist and philosopher as he was, he understood the mind and imagination of a child, and had a good deal of the child about him.

This leads naturally to Bishop Mercer's work as a popular interpreter of modern science and philosophy. He was an ardent student of physics and biology, and an industrious and prolific writer on these subjects in their bearing upon ideals of human faith and conduct, especially in his later years, for with him to live was to learn. The titles of some of his better known books indicate the scope and nature of his work: *The Science of Life and the Larger Hope, The Problem of Creation, Some Wonders of Matter, Why do we Die? Alchemy: Its Science and Romance.*

Unhappily, some of the clergy were inclined to be suspicious of one who dispensed with clerical mannerisms and conventional modes of expression; and his churchmanship was suspect. And it must be admitted that he regarded the Church as existing, not for its own sake nor even for the sake of the clergy, but for the sake of mankind. It was an instrument for the advancement of the Kingdom of God. The Bishop was really a Christian Humanist, and felt a little uncomfortable in the presence of those who live among the petty pieties of ecclesiasticism. Once when asked to conduct a quiet day for the clergy, he declined, feeling, as he remarked, that 'it was not quite in his line'; yet he afterwards debated whether he had been right. And indeed, he was quite capable of speaking movingly on religious matters, for there was an atmosphere of reality and sincerity in his utterances.

With regard to his opinions, though he knew well enough how to be silent, yet no one was ever left in the least doubt where he stood. Whether he was advocating some measure of social reform, or attacking the drink traffic, or upholding the unpopular cause of theological liberalism among the clergy, he acted and spoke without acerbity, but without ambiguity. Perhaps clearness of mind gave him clearness of purpose, but he saw and acted straight. This quality is too rare among public men; the difficulties of their position are so great. Yet when an instance of it is found we may admire it and be grateful.

Horatio observes of Hamlet's father that he was 'a very noble king'; but

Hamlet corrects him and says: 'He was a *man* . . .' John Edward Mercer was a bishop, and a good bishop; but he was, if possible, something more—he was a man.

A member of the Churchmen's Union for many years, Bishop Mercer read a paper at the Girton Conference of 1917, and had accepted the Committee's invitation to read a paper at the Conference to be held at Somerville College, Oxford, this year. The first article from an episcopal pen to appear in the *Modern Churchman* was contributed by him. When sending it in, with characteristic humility, he wrote:

'I do not know that it is worthy of publication, but I should like to think that at least one bishop has contributed an article to your magazine.'

J. C. HARDWICK

ARCHBISHOP DU VERNET, D.D.

In Lent 1927 I accepted the invitation of its Canadian publisher to write an Introduction to Archbishop Du Vernet's arresting book, *Out of a Scribe's Treasure*;[1] its modernist author having died while correcting the proofs.

[1] The Ryerson Press, Toronto (1927).

I did not know the Archbishop, even by name, and as I read its pages I wondered, owing to the French Canadian name of its author, whether the prophetic spirit had descended upon the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Quebec, and that he had become a second Mgr. Mignot, who as Archbishop of Albi had done so much for Modernism in southern France.

When I turned to 'Crockford' it appeared, *mirabile dictu*, that this *vox clamantis in deserto* was a Canadian Anglican, a pure product of Canadian Church life, and that his diocese was supported by the Church Missionary Society. Truly the Spirit bloweth where it listeth.

The brief Preface which I had missed, disposed of my hallucination—this is the true story:

> 'The Archbishop was trained in the old Evangelical school of Anglican theology, and with all his burning desire to utilize modern psychology in the interests of religious thought and practice he never lost the trembling earnestness of that school, either in writing or speaking. It was still, you felt, the old message of power, though expressed in modern terms. But his positive attitude towards religion in its various past and present manifestations bred in him an open-hearted tolerance that found a ready response in the hearts of Canadian men and women of varying creeds and churches.
>
> If one is tempted to wish that his work in later years had been elsewhere than in sparselypopulated northern British Columbia it must be remembered that the long and trying journeys that ultimately broke his health and shortened his days gave him those hours of quiet detachment which were made fruitful by his trained and reverent mind.' (Page vi.)

I, who did not know him personally, but have read the Archbishop's presentation of the Christian Faith count it a privilege to commend his volume.

Let it not be supposed, however, that Archbishop Du Vernet is our only archiepiscopal member of the Modern Churchmen's Union.

E. Nuttall, consecrated Bishop of Jamaica in 1880, Archbishop of the West Indies 1897 was the first archiepiscopal member of the Modern Churchmen's Union and he has had a number of primatial fellow-pilgrims.

H.D.A.M.

SAMUEL McCOMB, D.D., 1864—1938

The Modern Churchmen's Union has lost an old and valued member by the death of Dr. Samuel McComb, Rector of the American Episcopal Church in Nice.

Samuel McComb was a man of large body, large mind, and large heart. He was of the same race as the acutest of mediaeval theologians, Johannes Scotus Erigena : he was an Irish-Scot. The first stage of his education was accomplished in the north of Ireland; next at Oxford, where he had the great advantage of being tutored by Dr. Headlam; then in Berlin University in the golden days of Professor Adolf von Harnack, who described Barthianism as 'a desperado theology'. Later he became a Professor of Pastoral Theology in the Cambridge Theological Seminary in Harvard University. At this time he was closely associated with Dr. Worcester, of Emmanuel Church, Boston, and the notable 'Emmanuel Movement', which sought by the judicious use of religious psychology to improve the health and happiness of many whom ordinary medical methods had failed to relieve. Besides 'spiritual healing' Dr. McComb's main religious interests were preaching, prayer, and immortality. Himself an impressive preacher, he made a thorough study of the art, and his instruction in this sphere was of much value to those entering the ministry of the Church. He studied the art of prayer in the same modern manner and produced a valuable treatise: 'Prayer. Its Meaning, Reality, and Power.' He also published a helpful manual, *A Book of Prayers,* suitable for private and public use. His last effort in this direction was his translation into English of Heiler's enormous volume, *Das Gebet.* Other characteristic volumes from Dr. McComb's pen were *The Future Life in the Light of Modern Enquiry, Religion and Medicine* (in conjunction with Dr. Worcester), and *Christianity and the Modern Mind.* Our readers will remember an inspiring paper on 'The Church as a Divine Fellowship' read by him at the Modern Churchmen's Conference held at Girton in 1933. In the April—May number of the *Modern Churchman* in 1936 Dr. McComb treated the Problem of Suffering. In our pages in December 1933 he dealt severely with Barthianism, and agreed with Harnack's description of it as 'A Desperado Theology'.

In his life a very sincere and simple Christian, Samuel McComb was thoroughly alive to the need for the modern approach to religion and the modern presentation of it to the modern world. He had a genial, pleasant disposition, and was given to hospitality, in which he was greatly helped by his noble and beautiful wife. In 1925 I spent many pleasant days in his American home, in which family prayers constituted an unforgettable experience.

His former colleague, Dr. Worcester, Rector Emeritus of Emmanuel Church, Boston, U.S.A., writes of him :

> 'I have always believed that it was God who sent Dr. McComb to me, as a perfect stranger, when I needed him most. In him I found a congenial and richly-stored mind, a loyal heart, a merriment and wit which made life a pleasure. . . . His ready wit and drollery were delightful to me, and, far more important than either, I soon discerned in Dr. McComb a natural piety, a true sense of the Divine and the Holy which I have always considered his greatest gift, a real spiritual endowment. Pre-eminently he was a man of faith and of prayer.
>
> 'While Dr. McComb was in Boston, he touched its religious and social life at many points. Many of his sermons were notable and, to this day, are well remembered by those who heard them. As a witty extempore speaker he had few equals and he was at all times a dangerous

controversialist. Far more important are the personal services he rendered freely to all who came to him, from the foremost citizens of this Commonwealth to the humblest and most miserable. His reasoned faith in Immortality added to the sum of human belief. With all the rich resources of his mind, his greatest gift to us was the gift of his tender, heartfelt and refreshing prayers. How many men and women pray to-day because Dr. McComb taught them to pray.'

H.D.A.M.

THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE IN THE WORLD TODAY

By E. C. Dewick, D.D.

DR. Kraemer has supplemented in an up-to-date volume the profound impression created by his book, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, published eighteen years ago, of which Archbishop Wm. Temple wrote in a Foreword :

> 'It is likely to remain, for many years to come, the classical treatment of its theme. . . . It will supply the principles of missionary policy for our generation.'

In the present volume, entitled *Religion and the Christian Faith*,[1] Dr. Kraemer says :

> 'I continue to hold strongly to the main theses of *The Christian Message*, without any real change in my standpoints of 1938.' (p. 232.)

But the new book is fuller, deeper, and no less challenging than the old; and doubtless it will in its turn evoke (as the author anticipates) much criticism. (p. 5.)

The Aim of The Book

is stated thus by Dr. Kraemer :

(1) 'To investigate the great human fact, "Religion", in the light of Biblical Revelation, particularly in the light of Jesus Christ.' (p. 6.)

(2) 'To show that Biblical thinking is a type wholly *sui generis*, distant from religious thinking and philosophical thinking. . . . Biblical epistemology is the *exact reverse* of all other ways of knowledge and experience.' (pp. 449, 450.)

Its Theological Presuppositions

Dr. Kraemer says that his method of approach to his theme is purely theological (p. 7); in other words, he starts from certain assumptions, which he takes for granted as needing no proof for any Christian :

1. That 'the Triune God' has revealed himself fully and finally in Jesus Christ, who alone is *The* Truth (pp. 322, 361, 373).

2. That the ultimate authority for this is 'The Biblical Revelation', which, however, must not be identified (even 'partially') with historical Christianity. (pp. 82 *f*, 335 *f*.)

[1] *Religion and the Christian Faith*, by Hendrik Kraemer. (Lutterworth worth Press; 1956; 45/-.)

3. That the Christian answer to ultimate questions about God and man must be 'dialectic', saying simultaneously both 'Yes' and 'No'. (pp. 323, etc.)

The Scheme of The Book

The book is in six parts: (I) Study of Religion; (II) Indian Religious Thinking; (III) The Problem of Religion and Religions; (IV) The Bible and the Problem of Religion; (V) The Christian Dialogue with Religion; and (VI) Contemporary Questions.

The Main Conclusions of The Book

(1) In the realm of theology: There is complete 'Discontinuity' between 'Biblical Revelation' and all other forms of Religion, including historical Christianity: it alone is *Religio Vera;* they are *religio falsa*, or perverted reactions to God's acts (pp. 285, 340, 351). The ideas of 'General Revelation' and 'Natural Theology' are 'alien to the Bible' (pp. 347, 360).

(2) In the realm of practice: Inter-religious discussions are commendable within limits, though dangerous; but inter-religious corporate worship is 'mistaken and wrong', for 'it is quackery to maintain that we are praying to the same God.' (pp. 368 *ff.*)

The Value of The Book

The profound learning and deep Christian conviction which has always marked Dr. Kraemer's writings are evident here also; and it has special value because of its bearing on vital issues to-day.

1. It will stimulate the whole Church to fresh thinking on the issues raised by the challenge of the non-Christian religions, which confronts us to-day 'as never before since A.D. 312' (p. 23). For now, all parts of the world are inter-dependent; the peoples of Asia and Africa

> 'have taken their destiny into their own hands, and will no longer accept guidance from the West. Many of the non-Christian religions are becoming 'missionary-minded', and 'are starting movements for the conversion of Christians back to the religion which they or their ancestors left to become Christians.' (pp. 23-38.)

2. It offers a needed protest against the popular idea that all religions are fundamentally the same, or at least all equally useful as 'paths to God'; and also against the assumption that 'religion', of any and every kind, is necessarily a *good* thing. (pp. 38, 60.)

3. It suggests that points of contact between Christian and non-Christian should be sought primarily in relations between

individuals, and in 'the human religious consciousness', rather than in religious systems as 'wholes'. (p. 6).

4. It maintains that Christian Missions have generally adhered too rigidly to Western forms, in presenting the Gospel to the peoples of Asia and Africa, and have thereby caused it to appear to them as a *foreign* religion. At the same time, it recognises that the effective 'adaptation' of the Christian message to these peoples (which hitherto has been attempted only by a few foreign missionaries) must be carried out by 'voices coming out of the country's own midst'. (p. 26; *cf. The Christian Message*, p. 314.)

On these and many other points, we find ourselves cordially in agreement with Dr. Kraemer.

Some Criticisms

At the same time, many of Dr. Kraemer's assumptions, arguments, and conclusions seem to us to be open to serious question.

1. *His refusal to allow our human reason or our moral sense any right to judge of Divine Revelation.*

Of reason, he says :

> 'The sole possible response to the Revelation of God is faith, not a justification by reason.' (p. 145.)
>
> 'Faith is incomprehensible, unconditional trust in God, and what He says and does, which comes to a man without knowing how and why.' (p. 430.)
>
> 'The foolishness of God and the wisdom of men can never live in peace.' (p. 427.)
>
> 'Revelation as a divine act in history militates against all philosophical categories.' (p. 62.)

Now we are not for a moment imagining that human reason by itself can solve all problems :

> 'Hardly do we divine the things that are on earth,
> And the things that are close at hand we find with labour;
> And whoever gained knowledge of thy counsel, except thou gavest wisdom,
> And sentest thy holy spirit from on high?'
>
> (*Wisdom*, ix, 16 *f.*)

But it is one thing to recognize the *limitations* of human reason, and another thing to refuse it *any* validity in judging things divine. Dr. Kraemer's wholesale rejection of reason leaves us wondering *why* he himself devotes so much of his book to careful (and often cogent) reasoning. For if (as he maintains) modern man is 'atrophied' in matters of religion (p. 313), why should we have any confidence in the reasoning of Dr. Kraemer, who (for all

his dislike of 'Modernism') is himself a modern man? The 'flight from reason', professedly in the cause of 'faith', is really ultra-modern, and is only too likely to lead, not to faith, but to radical scepticism, or it may be to an intellectual suicide which refuses to exercise the powers of *thinking* which God has entrusted to us.

Even more serious is Dr. Kraemer's rejection of our *moral* judgments in the sphere of Revelation. He would forbid any attempt to *compare* religions, or to show that any one of them is *morally* superior to the others. He holds that we have 'no acknowledged norm of religious truth', no 'common measuring-rod' by which to judge what is really 'best' or 'highest'; and that neither piety, nobility of character, nor sublime religious experience give any guarantee 'of nearness to God's foolishness in Christ'. (p. 365; *cf.* pp. 83 *f.*, 276.)

Here again, we agree that all *individual* moral judgments fall short of infallibility, and vary from one place and one age to another. Even the old adage '*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*' ('The judgment which the whole world pronounces is a sound judgment') does not assure us of final or absolute truth. But to refuse to take *any* account of the moral judgments of mankind (and particularly of those who are best qualified, by education and character, to judge wisely) is to lapse into moral anarchy, both in our estimates of man, and in our thoughts of God. For if the Truth of God has no relation to human conceptions of 'good' and 'evil', then God himself must be 'beyond' or 'above' moral distinctions. That has indeed been the conclusion of some forms of Hindu philosophy and of Islamic orthodoxy; but it is surely impossible to reconcile with the Old Testament doctrine of God, as a God whose righteousness is clearly akin to (though far surpassing) the righteousness of men, or with the New Testament, which again and again pictures human love as a reflection (imperfect, but not untrue) of the love of God.

If logical thinking and moral judgments are ruled out as foundations for faith, what remains? Not 'religious experience' or mystical intuition; for Dr. Kraemer will not admit these to be any evidence for revealed truth (pp. 183, 443, 450, etc.). We are left with faith as a pure 'decision' to respond to 'Revelation'. But *how* (if all our faculties are corrupt) can we know that it *is* 'Revelation'? To that question, Dr. Kraemer gives us no answer; and he seems to us to come perilously near to an attitude which he condemns in others: 'What I prefer, is true'. (p. 61.)

Perhaps, however, he will say that he bases his faith on the Bible; and that leads us to our next consideration.

2. *Is Dr. Kraemer's 'Biblical Theology' really Biblical?*

Throughout this book, the phrases 'Biblical Religion', 'Biblical Revelation', 'Biblical Thinking' recur constantly. But Dr. Kraemer repudiates the 'misunderstanding' that he is a Fundamentalist (p. 222). He regards parts of the Old Testament as 'myths'—myths 'used by the Holy Spirit' to convey to us the Word of God (p. 267). But in practice, his *use* of the Bible seems to differ but little from that of the Fundamentalists. He builds his conclusion upon a text here and a passage there, often without taking account of other Biblical passages which point towards different conclusions. He speaks of 'the remarkable results of modern Biblical research' (p. 267); but he does not seem to make any *use* of these, in marshalling his own arguments, and assumes that even if the Bible is not infallible in all its statements of historical fact, it is always infallible in its statements of doctrine.

He has very few references to the teaching or character of Our Lord as recorded in the Gospels, but relies mainly on St. Paul; and here, his exegesis of crucial passages (such as Acts xvii, 26 ff., and Rom. ii, 6-14; see pp. 282-299) is to our mind quite unconvincing.

Nowhere have we found in this book any indication of the *reason* why Dr. Kraemer attributes this 'finality' to the Bible in matters of doctrine. Clearly, not because of its sublime moral and spiritual teaching; for the validity of these, as criteria of Revelation, is expressly rejected, as we have seen. He regards the definition of the Biblical Canon by the Church as divinely inspired (p. 267); but if that were the ultimate basis for faith, it would involve the infallibility of the historic Church; which (as we shall shortly see) he expressly denies. So he leaves us perplexed on this point.

That the Bible brings to us the Word of God, we fully believe. But this Word can reach our hearts only through human channels —objectively through the writers of the Bible, and subjectively through our own minds; and things human are never perfect or infallible. To regard the Bible as a Book *apart* from all other literature and history, and its message as entirely *sui generis*, is not really in accordance with the evidence of the Bible itself.

3. *Is Historical Christianity entirely unconnected with Biblical Revelation?*

When we turn to Dr. Kraemer's estimate of 'Christianity' as seen in the history of the Church on earth, we find his 'dialectical method' of saying 'Yes' and 'No' simultaneously somewhat perplexing. On the one hand, he holds that 'The Church has a divine

mission and a divine commission' (p. 31); but that the true Church, the Body of Christ, is 'undiscernible' on earth, and that 'Christianity' as an organized religion is simply one of the many religions of the world, a mixture of good and evil—and in some ways peculiarly evil.

> 'In empirical Christianity, as manifested in history, the *demonic* aspect of religion appears in its most dangerous and damnable form;'—because the Devil has a special interest in tempting the Church! (pp. 335–337).

In chapters VII–XII, Dr. Kraemer turns over the pages of Church history, reviewing one by one the chief Doctors of the Church,—Justin Martyr, the Alexandrian philosophers, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas; and pronounces them all 'defective'.

In the Great Reformers, Dr. Kraemer finds, 'for the first time in the history of the Christian Church, a true *theology* of religion' (p. 168); but even among them, there are backsliders. Zwingli, who maintained that 'there is no good man, from the beginning of the world to the end, whom you will not see [in eternal life] with God', is regarded as a 'humanist'; and post-Reformation Protestantism as a whole 'dropped back to pre-Reformation principles'. (p. 176.)

Present-day scholars, too are nearly all found 'wanting in theology' (Chapters XI and XII); and the 'liberal' views of *Re-Thinking Missions* and Dr. Hocking's *Living Religions and a World Faith* (1940) are sternly condemned as 'devoid of real theological sense, and a total distortion of the Christian message'. (p. 224.)

More attention is given to two Gifford Lecturers: Archbishop Söderblom (*The Living God*, 1931), and Prof. H. H. Farmer (*Revelation and Religion*, 1951). The Archbishop's 'immense knowledge, versatility of mind, and sensitivity to spiritual values' are recognized; but he is reproved for adopting from the early Fathers the idea of the *Spermatikos Logos* (close akin to the Quaker belief that there is 'something of God' in the heart of all men); and for his endeavour to combine this with the Biblical message, is likened to 'a man alternately riding two horses, or both horses at the same time'. (p. 213).

Farmer's book is welcomed as 'a great step forward, in comparison with with most English books'; but he is chided for 'a too great subservience to the desire to be fair' (p. 220)—which some of us might regard as a merit, rather than a defect!

Two chapters are devoted to a criticism of Paul Tillich, 'one of the most significant Christian thinkers of the present time': but

he too is rebuked for his attempt to reconcile theology with philosophy; for 'one cannot baptize philosophy'. (p. 447.)

Anglican writers are almost entirely *ignored* by Dr. Kraemer. Neither F. D. Maurice, B. F. Westcott, Gwatkin, Illingworth, Streeter, Inge, C. E. Raven, or L. Hodgson are mentioned; though all of them have made notable contributions to the study of the doctrines of Revelation and Incarnation. To take no account at all of this school of Christian theology is somewhat surprising.

Dr. Kraemer summarizes his review of Church history thus:

> 'We critically review the most important theological interpretations of religion, from the first centuries of Church History to the present time. We then come to the conclusion that . . . with the exception of Calvin, Luther, and Hamman,[2] they are sometimes more, sometimes less defective, in one essential point—a radical Biblical orientation.' (p. 7.)

In our own day, Dr. Kraemer holds that Karl Barth and Emil Brunner have been the first since the Reformers to attempt a purely theological treatment of the problem of religion (p. 178); and Brunner, especially, receives warm praise for his 'great discernment'.

So the history of the Church on earth, as seen by Dr. Kraemer, is broadly one of twenty centuries during which the light of Biblical Revelation has been almost continuously eclipsed, except for brief moments when it shone clearly through a few chosen souls. To us this view seems unduly sombre. We are far from claiming infallibility either for the Church as a whole or for any of its saints or teachers. But we believe that we can see in the Church and its message elements of nobility and truth which clearly transcend those to be found in any other religion; and at the same time we do not see evidence of any complete 'discontinuity' between these 'works of God' in the Church and similar works of God in the world at large, and supremely in Jesus Christ.

Conclusion

Enough has been said to show that we are not able to share Archbishop Temple's hope that Dr. Kraemer 'will supply the principles of missionary policy for our generation'. It would then be difficult for Christians holding 'liberal' views to feel that they would be welcome as co-operators in the missionary work of the

[2] Hamman was a German lay-theologian of the eighteenth century, whom Dr. Kraemer regards as 'a truly exceptional interpreter of Biblical thinking.' (p. 180.)

Church, since the 'Theory of Discontinuity' rests upon doctrines, and leads to practices, to which they could not give assent.

Consider first its effect on missionary policy:

1. The missionary is warned not to make any *comparison* between Christianity and other religions, nor to attempt to show by reasoned argument the supremacy of the former; but simply to 'confront' the non-Christian religions with a 'revelation' that has no point of contact with their own traditions or scriptures.

2. He is permitted to join with non-Christians in conference *only* on the assumption that none but Christians are 'held by' the Truth (p. 373); and is strictly forbidden to join with them in any corporate prayer or worship. (Can there be any worth-while 'co-operation' without open minds on both sides, ready to accept guidance from God, and prepared to receive as well as to give?)

3. He is not to endeavour to spread Christian ideas and ideals throughout the world, nor rejoice when he finds that this is happening; because this 'constitutes an evasion of the real Message of the Gospel, . . . and builds up a stronger frame of resistance against Christianity'. (p. 364.)

Such a policy would leave little scope for 'liberal' missionaries of the type of Kagawa, Reichelt, or Albert Schweitzer.

But the deeper roots of disagreement between Dr. Kraemer and 'liberal' Christians lie below the sphere of practice, in the realm of doctrine. Behind Dr. Kraemer's main thesis, that 'Biblical Revelation' is wholly 'discontinuous' from all other religions (including organized Christianity), lies a doctrine of the Incarnation which he regards as axiomatic. For him, the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ stands completely *apart* from all other works of God. God's Word (or Logos) is to be found only in Jesus Christ; there is no 'Spermatikos Logos' in the hearts of all men; and God's act in Christ is 'wholly extravert', 'entering history from without', and 'no part of the historical process'. (pp. 29, 145, 181.) From this as a premise, the missionary policy outlined above follows quite logically.

But (as Dr. Kraemer himself recognises) this has not been the Church's universal (or even the 'classical') doctrine of the Incarnation (p. 189). The Incarnation in Christ has often been regarded as the crown and climax of God's operation throughout Creation. Among Anglicans in particular, this view has been widely held; and it is stated clearly by the late Canon Streeter:

> 'Incarnation purports to be, not an *exhaustive*, nor an *exclusive*, but a *distinctive* expression of God; an expression through human personality of the very being of God, and of the most characteristic and

> central element in that being. It does not mean that *everything* in the Divine finds expression there, or that *nothing* in the Divine is expressed elsewhere.' (*Adventure*, p. 150.)

A similar view has recently been expressed by an American Anglican scholar, who professes himself 'unashamed of being a liberal', even in these days:

> 'The Incarnation in Jesus Christ is unique; yet not cut off from the rest of God's revelation. . . . It is a unique 'focussing' of God's universal Divine activity.'[3]

It would be possible to quote passages expressing a similar conception of the Incarnation from the writings of Von Hügel, W. H. Moberly, Bishop Rawlinson of Derby, S. Bulgakoff, J. M. Creed, and from the 1938 Report, *Doctrine in the Church of England* (p. 76).

It will be no easy task to reconcile these divergent doctrines of the Incarnation; but while the divergence remains, it is inevitable that there should remain also divergencies with regard to missionary policy and practice.

We have ventured to criticise frankly some points in Dr. Kraemer's arguments; but we would close by re-affirming our gratitude to him for a truly great book, which will stimulate the whole Church to fresh thought on an issue which is of vital importance to all who have the cause of Christ at heart.

THE PROBLEM OF KIERKEGAARD TODAY*

By Rev. D. L. Scott

THE great revival of interest in Kierkegaard, among theologians and existentialist philosophers, is surely one of the most striking phenomena of the past two decades. In his short life Soren Kierkegaard himself was virtually unknown outside the little world of Denmark, and after his death it was only as a figure of fun that he was remembered even there. 'Don't be a Soren,' became a warning not to make an ass of oneself. His voluminous writings, published for the most part under a bewildering succession of noms-de-plume, and generally at his own expense, either died with or predeceased their author. In them Kierkegaard poured out his morbid introverted spirit in a torrent of obsession upon the secret guilt that his father had confessed to him, and upon his own unhappy love affair. Now after a century of what, on the face of it, might seem a very proper oblivion, they have been given to the world by the modern exponents of 'crisis'

[3] Prof. W. N. Pittenger, in *Re-Thinking the Christian Message*, 1956, p. 88.

theology and others. Beneath this pathetic facade, they tell us, is a mine of the purest gold.

Whether indeed posterity will endorse the significance now attributed to Kierkegaard or whether it will pronounce him to have been greatly overrated because he happens to chime in with the mood of the present day (just as he clashed so discordantly with the optimism of his own) remains to be seen. But *Kierkegaard Commentary*, by Dr. T. H. Croxall, a distinguished Kierkegaard scholar and his enthusiastic admirer, does in fact—though scarcely in intention—raise acutely this problem as to just where this strange Danish thinker really belongs, and whether he really merits all the belated posthumous fame he now enjoys. For anyone who wishes to attempt a dispassionate appraisal of this problem *Kierkegaard Commentary* would prove a most useful and stimulating starting point.

Perhaps more useful, however, from a general point of view, and certainly less controversial, is a second book which we also owe to Dr. Croxall, *Meditations from Kierkegaard*. Consisting entirely of extracts from Kierkegaard's own writings, and all of a devotional character, they are arranged by Dr. Croxall under five headings: 'Times and Seasons' (Christmas, Easter, etc.), 'The Sermon on the Mount', 'Some Biblical Personalities', 'The Parables and Miracles of Jesus', 'General' (the fatherhood of God, Faith, etc.).

Such an arrangement is, of course, particularly useful for the preacher who will find many striking thoughts and helpful suggestions among these meditations, even if he does not find himself much in sympathy with Kierkegaard in general. Whether, therefore, Dr. Croxall whets our appetite for more or makes us well content with his own choosing, we shall be grateful to him on either score for the selections here presented to us.

D. L. Scott

* *Kierkegaard Commentary*, by T. H. Croxall (Nisbet, 1956; 25/-). *Meditations from Kierkegaard*, by T. H. Croxall (Nisbet, 1955, 12/6).

THE GOD OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

By Dr. E. L. Allen

THERE is but one truly serious philosophical problem and that is suicide. Judging whether life is or is not worth living amounts to answering the fundamental question of philosophy.' The words, the opening sentences of Albert Camus' *The Myth of Sisyphus*, might almost be taken as marking the Great Divide that separates English from Continental philosophy at the present time. On this side of the line are the Logical positivists or whatever name is appropriate to those for whom philosophical discussion should be confined to points of linguistic usage, so that questions such as Camus poses cannot be anwered because they cannot even be stated. On the other side are the Existentialists who follow Kierkegaard, in finding truth through passion, and would recall philosophy to its ancient rôle of counsellor in a generation menaced with despair and without the support of any religious authority. Fortunately, there are signs that, from our side at least, an attempt is being made to bridge the gulf, notably in the symposium just published entitled *New Essays in Philosophical Theology*[1]. The contributors, whether Christian or non-Christian, are agreed that religious problems merit serious consideration and may not be dissipated by some logical trick.

In all the essays, the linguistic approach is the one adopted, and, whatever the limits of the method, the honesty and self-criticism of the contributors are wholly admirable. The point at which the two groups, one Christian and the other non-Christian, diverge, is of great interest. The latter tend to make what may be called the standard use of language the criterion by which religious statements are judged and therefore to claim that they do not yield truth. The former start from the conviction that what is asserted in religion is true and that therefore language must be strained from its standard use to do justice to it. There is on both sides every effort to be fair to the position of the other, and one could wish that all theological discussion could be carried on at this level. Perhaps the temptation to identify Christianity with those forms of it that are most open to attack has at times been yielded to, and there is one contribution, the final one, that cannot be regarded as satisfactory. For the non-Christian and the Christian alike are there content to debate the possibility of survival after death as though that were all that is

[1] *New Essays in Philosopical Theology*. Editors: Antony Kew and Alasdair MacIntyre. (S.C.M., 1955; 21/-.)

to be said on the matter and nothing had been heard of the hope of eternal life.

Any detailed discussion of the book would be of only limited interest and so would be out of place here. I propose, therefore, to confine myself to three points. The first has already been adverted to. *What is the nature of religious language?* The positivist is at home with what can be expressed in clear-cut terms and verified by an appeal to sense-perception. He is disposed to think with Wittgenstein that 'for an answer which cannot be expressed the question too cannot be expressed'. The question therefore rises: what lies beyond the region of the expressible? anything or nothing? In other words, if it is granted that religion lives, moves, and has its being in the region of the inexpressible, of that which cannot be put into clear-cut language and verified by sense-perception, does that mean that it is sheer fantasy? Or that it gives access to a truth that transcends the truths of common-sense and the natural sciences? Or, finally, that its statements are without meaning and so can neither be affirmed nor denied, indeed, cannot even, strictly speaking, be doubted[2]. For—to quote Wittgenstein again—'a doubt can only exist where there is a question; and this only where something can be said'.

The second of the three possibilities enumerated above is the one the Christian chooses. For him the truth of religion is of a higher order than that of science; it is at once that which cannot be expressed and that which must be expressed. For this, as for all that moves us most deeply, we must have recourse to the language of poetry, to metaphor and image and symbol. As Aquinas laid down, when human terms are applied to God, they are used by way of analogy. This is difficult for the positivist to grasp; he is being offered something that seems to him vague, irrefutable because indeterminate. When the believer is pressed to say just what he means by the love of God, for example, he wants to have it both ways. In the country on a summer day, the love of God is like human love; in a cancer hospital, on the other hand, it is not like human love! So the positivist offers him a way out. Let him admit that he is not stating a fact, but expressing certain emotions or maybe cherishing an ideal, and all will be well. But the offer cannot be accepted. In some sense, the religious spirit insists, it is talking about facts.

But facts of what order? Here it seems to me that the current obsession with language unfits one for seeing what it is that language in this case is seeking to convey. The existentialist is better equipped for this than the logical analyst. For he refuses

to regard knowledge of objects as the standard form of knowledge and insists that knowledge of other persons is of at least equal importance. I may know a person in the sense that I have certain information about him. But there is room there for uncertainty, as my information may prove inaccurate. I know him better when I meet him and make his acquaintance. But a moment comes when we sit face to face and he lays claim to me, when I discover in him something that requires me to recast my whole life, to undertake new obligations and become in a sense another person. Tell me, when I talk about the experience afterwards, that I am only expressing my emotions, and I shall laugh at you. Granted that I am expressing emotions, I am conveying thereby an apprehension of something given and sovereign, a fact, if you will, of the most certain and least disputable order. So the utterances of religion are attempts to convey a reality that authenticates itself by the way in which it takes possession of and transforms the whole self.

The second topic is that of *creation*. This is dealt with in a Third Programme discussion between Professors Flew and MacKinnon. They allow that Genesis I is not a factual account of an observable event at the beginning of things but myth, an imaginative construction that embodies a present valuation of the world in terms that suggest an account of how it came into being at the first. It is of the same order, that is, as the 'social contract' of Rousseau and the 'primitive communism' of the Marxists. That this is, in fact, the case emerges quite clearly from a consideration of the point at which the concept of creation *ex nihilo* enters into Hebrew thought, to pass thence into Christian theology. A mother sees her seven sons die in torment rather than abjure their faith, and she encourages the last of them with these words:

> 'I beseech thee, my child, to lift thine eyes unto the heaven and the earth, and to see all things that are therein, and thus to recognize that God made them not of things that were, and that the race of men in this wise cometh into being. Fear not this butcher, but, proving thyself worthy of thy brethren, accept thy death.' (*II Macc.* xii, 28 f.)

A mother does not indulge in speculation at such a time. That God made all things out of nothing means that nothing is beyond his power here and now.

Professor Flew treats the same theme independently at another point in this volume, and there he seems to misunderstand entirely what is meant by creation. Thus he says: 'The doctrine of creation necessarily involves that God is as it were accessory before during and after the fact to every human action'. But that

would not be creation at all : it would be more like the manipulation of puppets. Nor will he allow any self-limitation on the part of God : 'for if the imitation is real it must involve that the Universe is now to that extent out of control ; which is precisely what the doctrine of creation denies.' He cites Calvin in support, presumably because Calvin will give him what he is concerned to deny. But some of us consider that this is one of the places at which Calvin went sadly astray. As I see it, creation implies the bringing into being by God of what is other than himeself and is free to develop along its own lines. What is created is thus independent of God, yet at the same time dependent on him, in the sense that its autonomy is his gift. Anything less than that would hardly deserve to be described as creation.

If this is so, then there is need for what may be termed a new myth of creation. For while, as already urged, any statement about creation is primarily concerned with a present valuation of the world in its relation to God and to ourselves, there is still the fact that this valuation is made, not directly, but with reference to how the world came about. Now that science has so greatly altered our knowledge of earlier conditions of the world, we cannot continue to operate with the old statement about its origin without grave danger of misunderstanding. Perhaps we come nearest to such a new myth if we employ Bergson's picture of evolution as the effort at self-development of an autonomous Life-force, which makes countless errors, blunders into many dead-ends, but breaks through eventually to consciousness and the spiritual life. We have then to think of God as creating this Life-force in the first instance and as guiding it towards its goal by persuasion rather than manipulation. Man is the being whom He brings forth in the course of the process with the invitation to cooperate with Him in redeeming it.

This brings us to our final point, *the problem of evil.* Professor Flew considers the old dilemma : Either God cannot prevent the evil in the world, in which case he is not all-powerful ; or he will not, in which case he is not all-good, and decides that it still stands. He rejects the usual defence, namely, that freedom is essential to moral good, and that God could not create a being who would be free and yet always choose the right. That would involve a contradiction. He maintains that we regularly count an action free when we can at the same time explain it as the result of what went before. But this, I would reply, by no means implies that it could have been predicted in advance and still be free. For, to say that an action is free means that one of the preceding factors to be included in any subsequent explanation will be the

freedom of the doer; in which case the explanation does not show that it was determined. Again, if I choose A rather than B and it can be seen afterwards that I was bound to choose A, it may equally be the case that had I chosen B, it would have appeared in the same light afterwards.

The problem of evil is discussed by other contributors, and *the same defect recurs in all these treatments*. They break off the Christian conception halfway and object to it; also, they do not consider what Christianity is concerned to say about the solution of this agonizing problem. To begin with, the Christian view is, as its critics here state, that God created man free and, therefore, able to go astray. In that case, they urge triumphantly, God is responsible for the possibility of evil and at least in part responsible for its actuality. Precisely. And the Christian position is that God has all along accepted that responsibility, supremely at the Cross of Christ. It is not merely that he 'pities and shares the sufferings of his creatures,' but that he so takes up evil into his own life that he offers over against it the possibility of a good to be won by its redemption. The statement 'God is love' has meaning only on the lips of one who accepts this invitation.

For Christianity does not regard evil as a *problem*, but as a *mystery*—to use Marcel's terminology. That is to say, it is a question that has to be *lived with*, not one that can be answered. What we *ask for* is an explanation of evil, no doubt. But the Christian assumption is that *what we need* is rather a faith by which to bear, to contend with, and if possible to redeem evil, whether as suffering or as sin. This, again, is what the Cross stands for. For Christianity begins by aggravating the grim fact of evil, by showing us how the human life that came nearest to God ended in apparent abandonment by him to the malice of men. But from this very fact it derives its hope that, just as this great evil was transmuted into good by being taken up into the divine purpose of mercy, so the lesser evils of the common human lot may be. It is open to anyone, of course, to say that this is unsatisfactory and unconvincing. What is not fair is for him to claim to have refuted it when he has in fact stopped less than halfway in talking about it.

THE OPEN DOOR

By Rev. A. J. Drewett

Sermon preached before the Modern Churchmen's Union in St. Margaret's, London.

'If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.'—*John* viii, 36.

'That they may be one, even as we are one.'—*John* xvii, 22.

FREEDOM and unity are the twin pillars of Anglicanism. The Church of England as we know it to-day was born as a protest against foreign domination and of the determination of the English people to worship God in their own tongue. But the Church of England had no desire to be schismatic and throughout her history as a reformed Church she has always held out hands of friendship to Catholic and Protestant Churches and prayed and worked for the healing of the divisions of Christendom.

In thus fashioning its life upon Freedom and Unity, the Church of England is strictly true to the New Testament. The two main charges brought against Judaism by the New Testament writers were (*a*) its rigid legalism which laid upon men burdens too grievous to be borne and (*b*) its fanatical exclusiveness which cut it off from other men and destroyed the vision of universalism which had been seen by its greatest prophets.

Our Lord's emphatic protest against these twin evils led to his rejection and crucifixion. The legalism of Judaism could find no room for One who lived by the freedom of the Spirit; who thought and acted always in response to the will of God and the needs of men.

As we look at the life of Jesus portrayed in the Gospels we see a freeman speaking without fear or favour and acting without thought of convention or tradition. It was precisely because Jesus was free that He, the Lord and Master, could wash His disciples' feet. It was because he was free that he could choose his friends from amongst the outcastes of society. Jesus was free because He had made himself of no reputation.

In contrast to the narrow isolationism of Judaism, Jesus was a universalist. His attitude to the Samaritans and the gentiles with whom he came into contact was always one of sympathy and understanding. His only concern was that they should know God and his approach to the unity of the human family was by way of the creation. God was the Creator-Father of all mankind; therefore men were potentially brethren. Neither was there one pattern by which alone God was to be worshipped for, as Spirit, He must be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

The two principles of freedom and unity find full expression in the Epistle of St. Paul. For the Apostle, freedom is the hall-mark of the Christian life; that which contrasts it so emphatically from the bondage of the law of Judaism or from the slavery of the flesh which is heathenism. The Christian is a free man because he has been delivered from both kinds of bondage. He is no longer a slave to his own desires nor has he exchanged it for slavery to external legalism.

The Apostle is no less concerned with unity. He is aware of the danger of the misuse of freedom (*a*) as an excuse for sin and (*b*) as a cause of schism. For him, freedom is not destructive of unity, but is the means whereby true unity can alone be realised. Unity is not the denial of freedom, but is the richness which results from the free co-operation of free men.

It is one of the obvious results of sin that principles such as freedom and unity which are, in fact, complementary, are placed in opposition, the one against the other, with disastrous results to Church, State, or any form of human association. When freedom is perverted into license so that each man does what he likes to further his supposed interests, unity is destroyed and anarchy and chaos result. When unity is infected with sin in the form of the lust for power, it degenerates into tyranny, and fredom is destroyed.

Thus are men forced to choose between freedom and unity instead of embracing both in a true and creative relationship. States have already largely made their choice. Some look upon freedom as the myth of the nineteenth century to be replaced by the twentieth century myth of collective man. Others, in which freedom has taken deeper roots, are concerned increasingly with its limitation, believing that by so doing they will preserve national unity.

In every sphere of human relationship, the fear of anarchy is always present and especially in days such as our own when the foundations are being shaken. The automatic response to this threat is a further limitation of freedom. More laws are passed, more restrictions introduced, more propaganda distributed. But the logical end of the process is not unity as the Christian understands it, but a dull and uncreative uniformity which irons out all the differences between people and removes most of the interest from human life.

Against these corruptions of freedom and unity, the Church must stand firm. Believing, as it does, that men should be both free and united in community, it has to find a synthesis at a higher level, where these divinely-given principles do not conflict with one another. That such a synthesis is possible we have seen from

the life and teaching of Jesus as well as from the apostolic writings.

The reconciliation of freedom with unity comes at the point where freedom is made subject to the service of God, when we feel free because we are doing his will and not our own. At this level, such freedom leads inevitably to true unity since the life activated by service to God must reach out to embrace other people in a unity which respects their freedom.

The pattern of this complete integration of freedom and unity is given to us in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, with its insistence upon the unity of the Godhead together with the free persons of the Three who compose it. Here is no unity of dull uniformity, but a creative relationship of Persons in such complete harmony that they can be said to be one.

Such perfection is, of course, beyond human attaining, but because man is made in the divine image, it is not irrelevant to our human condition. Subject to the frustrations and contradictions of sin but also redeemed by the Cross of Christ, we are given the power, if we will, to realize at least in some measure, the freedom and unity of the children of God.

With these thoughts in our minds and dealing, as we believe we are, with one of the most fundamental problems of our day, let us look at our own Church in order to see where we stand, as Anglicans, in this matter of freedom and unity.

To-day the Church of England allows within her ranks a great diversity of theological opinion, free exchange of ideas and a place for a reverent agnosticism, which is perhaps unique in Christendom. Like the British Constitution itself, the beliefs and practices of the Church of England have, for several centuries, been allowed to develop with as little precise formulation as possible.

It is for this reason that, apart from the schism which parted us from the Methodists and which was due more to political, local and social, than to theological causes, the Church of England has preserved so remarkable a degree of unity. In spite of the efforts of small groups of extremists at either end, the majority of Anglicans believe that the wide differences of theological opinion and practices in worship within the Church of England are something for which we should thank God. We have succeeded in some measure in subjecting both freedom and unity to the higher law of love and so of reconciling the one with the other.

The encouraging way in which the Church of England has gone into the Ecumenical Movement is another symptom of the same spirit. We do not believe that even within the wide range of Anglicanism we have the whole truth. We still keep our frontiers

open in order that relationships may grow and develop between us and the other Churches of Christ in the world.

But with what confidence can we look forward to the future? The new legalism which is finding expression in a revision of Canon Law to be enforced by Ecclesiastical Court is surely a dangerous reversion to the mentality of a former age. Maturity in the life of a Christian Church, as in that of a Christian individual, is marked by the need for less and not more external compulsion.

It is surely no sign of progress that a Church which has lived for some three hundred years without an effective Canon Law should now feel the need to introduce and enforce some one hundred and thirty-four rules and regulations many of which are designed to limit the freedom and initiative of those whose calling it is to witness to the freedom of the Spirit.

It may be true that many of these Canons are quite harmless and are useful for reference as to procedure in matters arising in the day to day affairs of the parishes. But there are some which are a real threat to the freedom of conscience of the clergy and others which make more difficult the relationship between Anglicans and other Christians.

Of the former, the proposed Canon 'Of the Declaration of Obedience to the Constitution and Canons Ecclesiastical' is an outstanding example. Every ordained minister at his ordination and at every subsequent change of cure would have to swear as follows:

> *I will obey and abide by the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of the Church of England as they have been or shall hereafter be passed by the convocation of the Province of the Church of England in which I may from time to time minister, and duly promulgated with the Royal Assent.*

This may well mean that some clergymen will be forced to remain in their parishes for the remainder of their lives; that others may have to resign their orders and that potential ordinands may be lost to the service of the Church. For consider what is required. This is a solemn promise to obey, not what you already know to be required of you, but also any other enactments which may be passed to some future date. It is difficult to see how a Church which believes in the freedom of the Spirit can ask of its ministers a blank cheque upon their consciences for the rest of their lives.

The proposed Canons which deal with relations of Anglicans with other Christians are also reactionary in their general attitude. Ever since the Reformation it has been customary for members

of other Christian Churches, being communicants of their own churches, to be admitted at the discretion of the officiating clergyman to communion in the Church of England. Under the proposed Canon 21, the permission of the Bishop would have to be obtained.

Similarly, under Canon 11, it is proposed to enact that the Bishop's permission *must* be obtained before a minister of another denomination can be invited to speak in an Anglican church even at an informal gathering for united worship.

In these and in other places, the suggested Canons hedge about with still more restrictions the possibility of worship with Christians of other Churches at the very time when the Spirit of God is so clearly bringing Christians together across denominational boundaries.

The other tendency to be noted in these proposed Canons is towards removing responsibility from the parochial clergy and increasing the number of occasions on which reference has to be made to the bishops. Such a process is bound to lead to increasing frustration in the parishes and to discourage the best men from entering the ministry.

Enough has perhaps been said to show that the Church of England is in danger of drifting with the general tide towards increased bureaucracy and centralization with consequent limitation of freedom and that she is also moving in the direction of a closed society in place of a comprehensive National Church which is her historic rôle.

Nothing will arrest this drift other than the determination of clergy and laity alike to preserve within their hearts a love of freedom which is based upon reverence for truth—'If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed'; and a desire for unity which springs from the universal love of God.

There are signs that men everywhere are tiring of the many and varied controls and restrictions of recent years and that a widespread movement towards a free and open society are on the way. It is the real vocation of the Christian Church and perhaps especially of the Church of England to prepare men to live responsibly as free men in such a society, not using their liberty as a cloke of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.

'I set before you an open door, and no man can shut it' (*Rev.* iii, 8).

WORSHIP IN THE NAME OF OTHERS

By P. D. May, LL.B., Vicar of Netherbury, Dorset

WORSHIP in the name of others is not authorised in the formularies of the Church of England. It demands, therefore, very serious consideration before it is given official sanction in our Revised Canons. Proposed Canon 20 (2) deals with daily Morning and Evening prayer in parish churches, but adds these words, '*For as much as it is one great part of the office of a Minister to praise and worship God not only in his own name but in the name of others also. . . .*'

But is it? Where is this duty stated?

Let us admit that a certain number of clergy believe that they should worship in the name of others [while other clergy do not believe in this practice]. Yet something more than this is needed for what is, let us face it, a change in the doctrine of the Reformed Church of England. It must be admitted by the revisers of our Canons that they do not cite any authority for worship in the name of others. It is perhaps more serious that they do not include it among the changes which they propose (cf. Canon Law Report, pp. 91 ff.). For section 20 (2) the report refers in the margin to the B.C.P. *Concerning the Service of the Church.* This exposition does not give a Minister any authority or obligation to worship in the name of others.

Nowhere in the Book of Common Prayer does the Minister worship in the name of others. It is true that there are places where the Minister praises in the name of others, e.g. the *Gloria.* But the people then praise in the name of the Minister, with 'As it was in the beginning . . .' In every case the Minister is the spokesman of *those present only.*

It is not in the Ordinal.

How then can it be said: 'it is one great part of the office of a Minister' when there is no command to him, nor promise by him, in the whole of the Ordination Services? If it is left out it must be a very insignificant part! But it is not a part at all if one reads carefully the Bishop's prayer before the laying on of hands (priests). This says:

> 'So that as well by these thy Ministers, as by them over whom they shall be appointed thy Ministers, thy holy Name may be for ever glorified . . .'

In the earlier 1550 book there was a similar phrase, though there the Ministers were appointed to the people and not over them.

It is not commended or authorised in the New Testament.

It is not easy to prove a negative, but a careful study of *Strong's Concordance* will prove to anybody in an hour that nowhere does our Lord praise or worship in the name of others. He *prays* for people and *thanks* God for people, but of worship he says: 'God is Spirit and they that worship Him must worship him in spirit and in truth.' This means that worship is personal, like love.

No Apostle ever praises or worships in the name of others, and nowhere are we told to do so, in any part of the New Testament. Paul commands that supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks be made for all men (*I Tim.* ii, 1). This follows our Lord's example. It is no authority for worship in the name of others. The proposed Canon 5 tells us where the doctrine of the Church of England is grounded and found.

The case against proposed Canon 20 (2) is not a little strengthened when one looks at George Herbert. He set out the duties of the parson in his book *A Priest to the Temple*, 1652. Here he knows nothing of praise and worship in the name of others. The nearest he comes to this is in Chapter 6, where he present himself before God, 'yet not as himself alone, but as presenting with himself the whole congregation . . .' He continues with what is a reference to the Holy Communion confession, which is, of course, made in the name of all those who are minded to receive the holy communion. If Canon 20 (2) added the one word 'present' it would be a safeguard. Herbert is insistent in the same chapter 6 that the people 'while they answer, As it was in the beginning, etc., they meditate as they speak . . .' The danger of the proposed Canon 20 (2) is that it can mean the minister worshipping in the name of absentees. Not a few English clergy teach this to-day.

Percy Dearmer does not mention this practice in chapter VI of the *Parson's Handbook*, 1902.

Canon Peter Green in the *Town Parson*, 1919, does not tell clergy to praise and worship in the name of others. He makes a strong plea for daily morning and evening prayer, but he does not give this as a reason (see chapter 3, ii and iii). Dr. Wand, when Bishop of London said: 'And we have abandoned any idea there may have been, that worship was something offered to God by the minister on behalf of the people' (page 34, line 29, of *Anglican Congress* 1954, S.P.C.K.).

In the Salisbury diocese we have an official Institution and Induction service. It is a fine service. There is no mention in it among the duties of the new incumbent, of praise or worship in the name of others. Nor is there any mention of it in the older

version of these services, 1917. It therefore can hardly be called a great part of the office of a minister.

After thus dealing with the lack of authority, we may go on to other objections.

Telling the minister to praise in the name of others is narrowing the meaning of the word praise. It has a very noble use in the prayer book. In the general thanksgiving we are to:

> 'show forth thy praise not only with our lips but in our lives, by giving up ourselves to thy service, and by walking before thee in holiness and righteousness all our days.'

Quite clearly praise is a twenty-four hours daily duty.

Another similar instance of the word praise is in the marriage service. Children are to be brought up christianly and virtuously 'to Thy praise and honour' (prayer for children and see first 'cause'). This does not only mean children must learn to praise God, it means that the upbringing, twenty years of it, should be to the praise of God.

Not only is the word praise narrowed in the proposed Canon 20 (2), but the word worship is misused. You *can* praise in somebody else's name, e.g. 'A. told me to tell you how much he liked your article.' (Though secondhand praise addressed *to God* who knows all our thoughts is superfluous and meaningless.) You *cannot* worship in the name of others, because worship is personal, like love. Worship is an utterly personal attitude of attributing worth. We ought all of us to express this attitude publicly in church, but as it is our personal attitude, no form of words used by another in our name can be a substitute for it.

ANGLICAN MODERNISM AND LIBERAL JUDAISM*

By H. D. A. Major, D.D., F.S.A.

THE modern churchman's attitude to Jesus differs in some respects from the traditionalist Christian attitude. For instance, we do not regard Jesus as entitled to our loyalty and reverence because He is asserted to have been Virgin-born and so to have fulfilled miraculously a prophecy made by the prophet Isaiah to King Ahaz some seven centuries before the Christian era. In Justin Martyr's famous *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew*, when Trypho maintains that in the original Hebrew text of *Isaiah* VII, 14, there is no prediction at all of a Virgin birth, we find ourselves in agreement with Trypho as against his Christian opponent.

The older Christian apologetic—that because Jesus literally fulfilled a number of ancient Biblical prophecies and wrought a number of super-human miracles, and is thereby proved to be the Messiah or Christ or Son of God, has no validity for modern churchmen. We do not forbid our fellow Christians to believe these things; but for ourselves the old 'proofs' derived from oracles fulfilled, and miracles performed, lack validity. Modern historical and literary criticism applied to both the Old Testament and the New Testament have undermined the validity of such arguments. The power to work wonders does not prove and cannot prove that the wonder-worker is entitled to our faith and obedience as a revealer of God. Matthew Arnold's ironic statement: 'In order to prove to you that what I am writing is true, I will now turn my pen into a pen-wiper,' reflects for the modern mind the incongruity of this kind of apologetic. But Matthew Arnold's point of view was expressed eighteen hundred years earlier by Jesus Himself, when challenged by the Jewish religious leaders to give them a sign (*i.e.*, a miracle) to prove the Divine authority of His mission and the truth of His message, He said: 'An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, but there shall no sign be given to it' (*Mk.* viii, 11-12, cf. *Mt.* xvi, verse 4, *Lk.* xi, verse 29). And he added that the wisdom of Solomon and the prophetic preaching of Jonah exerted their converting power without the aid of miracles.

There is a sense, however, and a very profound sense in

* This article was contributed in response to the request of Rabbi Dr. J. J. Mattuck and was published in the *Liberal Jewish Monthly*, Vol. XVI, October 1945.

which the modern churchman regards Jesus as the Fulfiller of Old Testament prophecy. George Adam Smith once said to the writer of this article: 'The treasure and the mystery of the Religion of Israel is its prophetism'. By prophetism he meant the progressive apprehension and authoritative proclamation of moral and spiritual truth in Israel's Religion. Modern Biblical criticism has made clear to its students the historic order of this moral and spiritual evolution. In the Old Testament we have the record of God's inspiring and creative illumination and guidance of Israel, the record of Divine Reality speaking in and through Israel's prophetic law-givers and seers, historians and sages, psalmists and visionaries—recipients in varied circumstances and different degrees of 'the Word of the Lord'.

To modern Churchmen, Jesus seems to be the fine flower of this wonderful treasure of Israel's religious and ethical inspirational evolution. For us, this is gathered up and unified in its most profound, universal and potential form in the personality, mission, message and spirit of Jesus. There is no convincing evidence that the religious genius of Jesus drew on any other historic sources than those of Judaism. The alleged 'Teutonism' in the religion of Jesus has no sound historical basis but can be accounted for as a product of wishful thinking. Jesus was intensely original in His religious genius, but this originality is seen in His selection, combination and development of religious and moral elements which already existed in Israel's Scriptures and oral teaching. There is nothing in the Religion of Jesus as preserved in our most ancient and reliable historical sources which can be shown to be derived directly from classical paganism.

We do not deny the influence of Hellenic philosophy, any more than we deny the influence of Zoroastrian Religion, on Jewish Religion; but these influences came to Jesus *through* Judaism. They were not derived by Him from outside Judaism. If He is, as we believe, a 'Light to lighten the Gentiles', He is also 'the Glory of His people Israel' (*Lk.* ii, 32). What we have in the Religion of Jesus—and we cannot separate His religion from His personality—is no skilful artificial combination of religious fragments, but a vital organic unity. His religion is genetic. It has its sources in an historic past; but it is also the creative product of a profound, intense, original and liberated personality. The religion of Jesus was no mere conservation of values, but an augmentation of values. His Gospel was new.

Jesus realized this:

> 'The law and the prophets were until John: from that time the Gospel of the Kingdom of God is preached.' (*Lk.* xxvi, 16.)

His religion was the religion of the New Order—an order which was not there ready to receive that religion, but an order which that religion had progressively to create to realize itself in human society. This it has been engaged in accomplishing with astonishing misadventures and misconceptions during the last two thousand years. We realize to-day how amazingly modern the Religion of Jesus is and how its ideals, united to the spiritual and moral relationships and experiences which it develops, is needed at the present time to constitute the creative foundation of a world-wide evolving spiritual and moral force which is in the true line of evolution. We modern churchmen whole-heartedly believe that true moral and spiritual progress is secured supremely by advance under the leadership of the spirit of Jesus. Deviate from that and we are faced by the barriers and stagnations of a *cul-de-sac*.

Primitive Christianity conceived of Jesus Messianically: it regarded Him as the long expected and prophetically predicted Messiah of Judaism; hence His Greek title 'Christ'—the Anointed King of Israel, anointed by the Divine Spirit to bring in the long expected Kingdom of God of which He was the Messiah. But in the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel, written towards the end of the First Century, Jesus is presented as the Word or Wisdom of God—that Divine Wisdom which becomes more clearly manifest as the creation proceeds through its successive stages, mechanistic, biological, personal. This Divine Wisdom finds its ideal *organon* in Jesus. Hence, in Jesus we have—subject to human limitations—the supreme unveiling in human history of the Divine Nature. Modern churchmen would affirm that in this doctrine of the Incarnation ('The Word became flesh and dwelt among us,' *Jn.* i, 14), they find the best medium for conceiving of the Personality of Jesus in relation to the Divine Creator, to the creative process, and to mankind.

Modern churchmen do not take that restricted view of the Incarnation which limits it to the Historic Jesus. Whilst they see the most perfect example of Divine Incarnation in human history achieved and exemplified in Jesus, they also recognize some degree of Divine Incarnation in all members of the human race, especially in those who manifest in their character and conduct the spirit of Jesus. Whereas traditional Christians think of incarnation as an isolated and miraculous act, restricted to Jesus alone, modern churchmen conceive of Incarnation as the Divine creative method which operates in the highest stage of the creative process—that stage in which *human* personality comes into existence.

Hence, although we speak of Jesus as the Son of God (*John* x : 36) yet we regard Him as 'the first born among many brethren'. This idea is clearly expressed in the following passage from the *Epistle to the Hebrews* :—

> 'For it became Him (God), for Whom are all things, and through Whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings. For both he (Jesus) that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all from (out of) One (Divine Father) for which cause he (Jesus) is not ashamed to call them brethren'. (*Heb.* ii, 10, 11.) (*John* i, 12.)

Consequently modern churchmen hold that Jesus is unique in the quality of His Divine Sonship but not unique in the sense that the Divine Father has no other sons. He is thus conceived of, not only as the Son of God—like Father like Son—the possessor of the Divine Nature under human limitations, but also as the firstborn among many brethren. The modern churchman's understanding of incarnation is perhaps best expressed in the words of Professor Pringle-Pattison :

> 'We are far too apt to limit and mechanize the great doctrine of the Incarnation, which forms the centre of the Christian faith. Whatever else it may mean, it means at least this—that in the conditions of the highest human life we have access, as nowhere else, to the inmost nature of the Divine. "God manifest in the flesh" is a more profound philosophical truth than the loftiest flight of speculation that outsoars all predicates and for the greater glory of God, declares Him unknowable.'

A MODERN CHURCHMAN'S CREED

in the words of an Ancient Churchman.

We Believe :

God is Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.
God is Light, and if we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another.
God is Love, and everyone that loveth is born of God and knoweth God.
Jesus is the Son of God, and God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His Son.
We are children of God, and He hath given us of His Spirit.
If we confess our sins He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.
The world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever. *Amen.*

Songs of Praise No. 433, set to music by Martin Shaw.

REVIEWS

A MODERN PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

An autobiography of Canon Guy Rogers, B.D., M.C., entitled *A Rebel at Heart*[1] but with the sub-title *The Autobiography of a Nonconforming Churchman*, just published, is well worth reading, especially by ordinands and clergymen, not excluding bishops. It is very intimate and very plain-spoken.

The author is an Irishman, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, in days when Salmon and Mahaffy were its idols. Salmon, successively a mathematician, a Church historian and last of all a Gospel critic; Mahaffy described thus by our author:

> 'The friend of kings; the polished wit; the cosmopolitan V.I.P.; the perfect snob; the brilliant writer; humorous, boastful, a firm friend and lover of small children' (p. 27).

The best story we know of Mahaffy is not included in this book: A sudden silence fell in a crowded compartment of a Dublin train and a stern-faced man sitting opposite Mahaffy asked: 'Are you saved?' Mahaffy replied: 'I am, but it was a near squeak and I don't like to talk about it.'

Guy Rogers, adopted by a maiden aunt, a saintly Evangelical, was destined by her for the ministry of the Church of Ireland. In this adopted home he received an intense and rigorous Evangelical training from which there was no escape until he entered Trinity College, Dublin. Here his religious liberation began and continued for the rest of his life but through all changes his primal Christian faith and devotional habits remained supreme. He was ordained in Ireland and held two brief curacies in Dublin. He then accepted a curacy in London. Here it was clear that he possessed all the qualifications calculated to secure popularity as a curate in a typical English parish. He was high-spirited with plenty of Irish wit; an all round athlete, ranging from rugger to ping pong. In tennis he was a Blue. In the pulpit and on the religious platform he evinced an eloquence of a really high order in which prophetic power and spiritual emotion were expressed in pure English.

In 1909, having been a curate for nine years, he became the Incumbent of St. John's, Reading, where he had a most promising ministerial sphere and as *primus inter pares,* he worked it with three curates. Here his remarkable gifts as a parochial administrator, as original as they were merciless in their demands on his energy and leisure—manifested themselves.

At the Reading Convention he came into touch with Bishop Gore whom he immediately recognized as a great and good man.

In 1910, in response to an appeal by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Guy Rogers went forth as a missioner to preach to emigrants in Canadian settlements and is, even to-day, enthusiastically remembered. This was his first of a number of visits to the American continent, all of which provided varied experience and enlarged his gifts of fellowship.

When the First World War came, at great personal cost, Guy Rogers resigned his benefice and became a chaplain in the Guards and was sent to the Western Front in its most sanguinary period. There he found he had much more to learn. His combination of Christian propagandist zeal and social charm once again rendered him conspicuously influential. He shared to the full the dangers and hardships of the Somme battlefield and received, with a number of his fellow-chaplains, the Military Cross. As chaplain he associated with many of the brilliant young men who gave their lives in 'the war to end was'. He refers especially to Raymond Asquith. Before Armistice Day arrived

[1] *A Rebel at Heart*, by Guy Rogers. (Longmans, 1956; 16/6.)

he had resigned his chaplaincy and had accepted the benefice of West Ham, offered him by Watts-Ditchfield, Bishop of Chelmsford. It is impossible to conceive of a more congenial bishop or a more congenial sphere.

In this post-war period and in the great centres of population, church reform was becoming a vital, and as many felt, a menacing reality. Social betterment, the re-building of the slums, the Life and Liberty Movement, Ordination of women to the priesthood, Intercommunion with Nonconformists, the claims of Biblical criticism and its bearing on the re-interpretation of the creeds and the re-formulation of the Church's doctrinal teaching were among the most pressing problems.

With all the controversial movements inspired by these problems, Guy Rogers found himself at this time in sympathy. He writes:

> 'How eager I was to put into practice what I really believed the Spirit of God was teaching me about freedom in the approach to the Bible, human relationships, the use of the Sacraments, and the reconstruction and rehabilitation of parish life.' (p. 130).

Of his eight years work at West Ham, Guy Rogers records a very interesting parochial experiment:

> 'The particular experiment for which my work at West Ham during the eight years I was there was best remembered was the bringing of university trained women to work side by side with curates.' (p. 132).

His three curates lived with their bachelor vicar in the ramshackle vicarage; the four women graduate missioners were accommodated with a residence in another part of the parish and proved to be immensely helpful. Contrary to popular prediction none of them married the curates but one of them, Miss Marguerite Hartley, a distinguished Cambridge graduate, after leaving the parish for New Zealand returned to marry the Vicar in West Ham Church on April 29th, 1924.

Meanwhile our author had attracted the attention of royalty, was invited to Windsor Castle, became *persona grata* and a royal chaplain. From this time forward the ceaseless activities of Guy Rogers both at home and abroad did much to justify the sub-title of his book *The Autobiography of a Nonconforming Churchman.*

In the matter of the re-marriage of divorced persons he took his stand with Bishop Creighton and Archbishop Tait and maintained the right of the parish priest to decide the issue in such cases. He rejoiced in the rejection of the Deposited Book. 'My wife reminds me that I danced around with relief and joy when the news came of its rejection.' As a result of his opposition to the Deposited Book he notes:

> 'I imagine I got a "bad mark" from which I never really recovered during the reign of Archbishop Davidson's successor, Cosmo Lang.' (p. 162).

Later he writes:

> 'I was responsible for the publication of the book, *Liberal Evangelicalism,* which ran through many editions and shaped the thought and policy of the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement for a generation.' (p. 165).

In 1924, the year of his marriage, he accepted with the ardent sympathy of Bishop Barnes, the influential post of Rector of Birmingham where he remained for 23 years. His Bishop and he had much in common but they also had serious differences. Guy Rogers admired Bishop Barnes very highly, but is critical of his episcopal administration. He writes:

> 'He had none of the "cement" in his make-up which would have held people together. He resigned from the A.E.G.M. because he thought it

was too timid. He resigned from the Modern Churchmen's Union because it would not follow his lead on pacifism. Gracious and considerate to people in his normal social life, he had little mercy on his clergy if in any way they seemed to him to be injuring the "cause". It was not they, however great their services in the past, that mattered: the "cause" was all important.

'Pacifism was to him pre-eminently the "Cause".' (p. 208).

'His mind occupied itself readily with far horizons. What will the Church of England be like a hundred years hence? he used to ask. . . . The Church as an institution existed to give shape to truth; if in any way it was distorting it, the sooner it was modified the better.' (p. 211).

Bishop Gore founded the Bishopric of Birmingham in 1905 and Guy Rogers compares the ideals of Gore and Barnes in a profound and constructive paragraph:

'The Church as the Body of Christ stirred Gore to the depth of his soul; allegiance to Truth as he saw it dominated the mind of Barnes. Loyalty to any institution, however venerable or sacred, took second place. If Gore was "profoundly convinced" (the phrase we knew so well) that the future of humanity was bound up with the fortunes of the Visible Church, Barnes was no less convinced that, unless the Church followed and obeyed the Truth, its worth was negligible and its influence a declining force. Antagonistic as their views often seemed, and critical as they were of one another, it was not difficult for one like myself, who admired them both, to realize that the Church could not well be without either.' (p. 214).

Guy Rogers, a Liberal Anglo-Catholic and a Liberal Evangelical was pre-eminently a Liberal Modernist. His conception of Liberal Modernism he summarises as follows:

'I am also a Modernist in the sense that I value the right of the Church to create new precedents under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, even more than its responsibility for guarding the precedents of the past. I cannot think that our Lord was a Law-giver or that the maintenance of Christian standards is best served by rigorism. I believe the impact of science on [Christian] religion to be no less important than the impact of [Christian] religion on science, inasmuch as truth is the ultimate goal of both. Unity of the Spirit in Christ's Church means more to me than formal unity. I agree with the late Bishop Burroughs of Ripon that it might be possible to reunite the Church and at the same time destroy the Gospel. I fear the totalitarianism of Rome as I do that of Russian Communism.' (p. 304).

Guy Rogers concludes his survey of his personal religious development as follows:

'The twin sisters, Faith and Doubt, have been with me all my way and Doubt often has jogged my elbow. But I have managed to follow the advice of Tennyson's ancient sage,

> "Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt
> And cling to Faith beyond the forms of faith." ' (p. 310).

We have entitled this review 'A Modern Pilgrim's Progress'. Of John Bunyan's many pilgrims the one who seems to us to possess the closest affinities with Guy Rogers is Mr. Honest. Of his crossing the River Bunyan records:

'When the day that he was to be gone was come, he addressed himself to go over the river; . . . but Mr. Honest in his life-time had spoken

to one, Good Conscience to meet him there, the which he also did, and lent him his hand, and so helped him over. The last words of Mr. Honest were, "Grace reigns!" '

H.D.A.M.

A GERMAN PROTESTANT AND THE PAPAL CHURCH

An historian who can catch the accent of his own age and record it, does a useful job. Prof. Walther von Loewenich, having already published a Church History which has brought him much credit has followed up with an attempt to assess the new, outwardly-imposing position of the Church of Rome in our own time. He also makes a major point of describing in detail the relations of the R.C. and the Protestant Churches, by which latter he means primarily his own *Evangelische Kirche* in Germany.[1] He writes as one who has it much upon his heart to see approximations, more co-operation, if not unity, between the two historic churches. He sets out, after tracing the actual development of the Roman Church, especially since 1870, the possibilities, and has to confess, with a sad heart, that, amid impressive developments from the Roman side, co-operation or agreement do not increase; on the contrary, the lines of division are just as sharp as in the most bitter, even savage and brutal polemical days, now past, and which the author hopes, with us, past for all time. Germany, in its public movements, whether religious, political or educational runs, compared with ourselves, to extremes. A special talent seems to exist there, after all the china has been destroyed in the German shop by the egoism of opposed dialectical movements, to describe, *post mortem*, the beautiful china ware it once was. Our style in life seems to be more that of a cautious policeman. We take up a position with due circumspection, in the middle of the road, and do what we can to direct the ill-mannered traffic.

Rennie Smith

THE GENIUS OF THE BIBLE

In the Post-Terror Period of the French Revolution when Continental Catholicism, shattered and downtrodden, seemed to have no future, Chateaubriand, the ex-infidel, whose mother had died for her faith on the scaffold, wrote a brilliant Apology for the Christian Religion which he entitled *Le Génie du Christianisme*. It did not a little to turn the tide in France among thinking people where the Catholic situation was darkest. *Le Génie* was not a reasoned defence of the truth of Christian dogmas, but a popular presentation of the Christian Religion as the inspiration of a noble civilization and the Creator of Art of the highest order.

That is the kind of Christian Apology which we need to-day, which makes the reader, as he lays down the volume, realize how much the Christian Religion has enriched the culture and enlarged the conscience of mankind. A similar ideal, but restricted to the English Bible, has prompted the Rev. Guy Daniel of King's College, Cambridge, an experienced parish priest, to produce a most readable and attractive volume entitled *The Bible Story*[1].

He tells in simple modern style without rhetoric and exaggeration not only what the English Bible is historically, but also the influence which it has created in the spheres of developing human culture and creative art. The volume itself in which this is presented is also a work of art. Its paper, print, binding are all of the best. But what renders it surpremely attractive are its 48 illustrations, superbly reproduced in full colour, collected from museums,

[1] *Der Moderne Katholizismus*, by Walther von Loewenich. (Luther Verlag Witten/Ruhr. 1955; price, 12.80 DM.).

[1] *The Bible Story*, by Guy Daniel (Grosvenor Press, S.W.1. 25/-, 1955).

galleries and churches. Two of these illustrations which interested us particularly are 'Solomon' and 'The Queen of Sheba' by Piero della Francesca and 'The Child Jesus with The Doctors' by Ribera.

> 'In showing how the Bible came to be written and what it has meant to successive centuries of Christians it shows also—in the illustrations—how it has inspired great artists to tell of incidents from the story in the pictorial terms of their own times and their own personalities.'

But how difficult it is to write a readable account of the Bible capable of securing the attention and sympathetic understanding of modern youth! This can only be done by presenting the religion of the Bible as evolutional—influenced stage after stage by its geographical and historical backbround.

This popular narrative accepts the viewpoint of modern scientific anthropology and stresses the factors which create, or it may be destroy, competitive civilizations.

The section dealing with the inspiration of the Bible is very well done. In it we pass in a most reasonable and convincing way from the older conceptions of the Bible as 'verbally inspired' and factually infallible to our modern understanding of the nature, variety, quality, influence of our greatest living religion in which the natural and supernatural are seen as complementary aspects of one process. Here we realize that there are various kinds of and degrees of religious inspiration and that the 'either-or' distinctions of the past are no longer applicable.

Another most interesting section of *The Bible Story* tells how we got our English Bible, and with what heroic ability this was achieved by Wycliff, Tyndale, Coverdale and their colleagues. Here the literary illustrations are most aptly chosen; we cite one example.

The *Psalms* in our English Prayer Book differ from those in our Authorized Version. Why is this? They are Coverdale's Version taken from the Great Bible of 1538. This version of the *Psalms* had become so popular that it was retained unaltered in our Prayer Book when in 1611 the Great Bible was displaced in our Church services by the Authorized Version.

We regret that Mr. Guy Daniel retains the old interpretation of Pharisee as *Separatist,* instead of *Parsee* or *Persian*—the illuminating derivation propounded by Professor T. W. Manson who maintains that Pharisee was a nick-name given to Jews who had adopted Zoroastrian eschatology with its apocalyptic judgment of mankind.

We are glad that Mr. Daniel tells his readers about the Zealots whose fatal propaganda Jesus condemned, although the Zealots are never mentioned by name in the Gospels except where Luke (*Luke* vi, 15) surnames Simon 'the Zealot' to distinguish him from Simon Peter, his fellow-apostle.

We know of no better book as a gift from a modern God-parent to a modern God-child.

H.D.A.M.

THE LATEST COMMENTARY ON ST. JOHN*

Hard on the heels of Professor Dodd's great book on the Fourth Gospel (1953) appears the first full-dress commentary on that gospel to appear in English since Bernard's commentary in 1928. A full generation lies between, full in more seises than one, for it has seen the supersession of the synoptic method of studying the gospels by the 'form-critical' method, and the epoch-making work of Bultmann and Dibelius. It has seen an immense increase in our knowledge of what has come to be called the 'Hermetic' literature, thanks

* *The Gospel According to St. John.* An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text, by C. K. Barrett. Pp. xii, 531. (S.P.C.K. 1955; 63/- net.).

in great measure to the work of Nock and Festugière. Hoskyns' book on the Fourth Gospel (1940) marked the break from the earlier traditional treatment of the gospel, and Professor Dodd's patient and at the same time brilliant work on the Greek background of the gospels, has helped to create an atmosphere favourable to the reception of a commentary which should bring together the results of a generation's labours and present them to the Christian world. Such a commentary is now before us from the pen of Mr. C. K. Barrett of Cambridge, lecturer in Divinity in the University of Durham.

It may be said at once that for its ample and accurate scholarship, its profound theological insight, and its cautious yet liberal approach to the well-known problems of the gospel, Mr. Barrett's work will hold the field as the standard commentary on the Fourth Gospel for the next generation.

Probably the readers of *The Modern Churchman* will want to know what line the new commentary takes with regard to the major questions of authorship, eschatology, and historicity. On the first question Mr. Barrett does not hedge; but, while he speaks explicitly of 'the moral certainty that the gospel was not written by John the son of Zebedee' (p. 112), and says on p. 106, 'the evangelist was not an eye-witness of the events he narrates', he nevertheless also suggests that the early tradition of John the son of Zebedee's authorship was not pure fiction but had some foundation (p. 112). From this suggestion Mr. Barrett proceeds to unfold an interesting and original hypothesis concerning the authorship both of the gospel and of the other Johanine literature. This is that the apostle John, the tradition of whose martyrdom with his brother James he rejects, migrated to Ephesus, where he composed apocalyptic works. Owing to his great age the tradition grew up about him that he would survive until the *Parousia.* He gathered about him a band of disciples. 'His death fanned the apocalyptic hopes of some, scandalised others, and induced a few to ponder deeply over the meaning of Christian eschatology.' One of his disciples incorporated the apostle's apocalyptic writings in the canonical Apocalypse; another disciple, or possibly more than one, was responsible for the epistles. 'Yet another, a bolder thinker, and one more widely read both in Judaism and Hellenism, produced John 1-20.' Finally, and much later, when the Church had come to recognize the value of the gospel as a weapon against the Gnostics, the gospel was edited with the addition of c. 21 and the imprimatur of the Church. It is an interesting hypothesis, and has much to commend it. It offers an intermediate position between Dr. Farrer's view, to which the author makes no reference, that the author of the Apocalypse was also the author of the gospel, and the generally accepted view that the two books cannot be by the same author. There is not space within the limits of a review to set out the arguments by which Mr. Barrett's theory is supported, but they are worthy of careful consideration.

With regard to the second question, that of eschatology, Mr. Barrett does not accept the view that the eschatology of the Fourth Gospel is wholly a 'realzed eschatology'. He holds that John (so Mr. Barrett contnues to call the author of the gospel) found the apocalyptic eschatology of the synoptic gospels, and in part the Pauline, inadequate to explain the age of the Church, 'the interval which lies between the adumbration of the end in Jesus and the end itself', and his eschatology was developed to explain this interim period. In recogizing this need Mr. Barrett would appear to acknowledge the justice of the criticism expressed by Professor Mascall and others with regard to the historical 'residue' of time, for which 'realized eschatology' seems to find no place in the divine purpose. His words are, 'John essays to describe the age of the Church (as we may call it) in quasi-eschatological terms; at 14, 23, for example, he speaks of a two-fold *parousia* of Christ and of the Father to the

man who becomes a Christian, and of their abiding with him. But it is clear that he was not satisfied with this expedient, just as he was not satisfied with an account of Jesus himself in simply apocalyptic-eschatological terms. It was necessary to find a new way of expressing the fundamental Christian affirmation of the Christian faith, that in Jesus Christ the new age had come, but had done so in such a way that it still remained to come ,so that Christians live both in this age and in the age to come. 'Further on he says, 'But it must be emphasized here that, rich as is the special contribution which John brought into the storehouse of Christian theology, the whole is subordinated to the unescapable framework of eschatology which has always dominated Christian thought from the days of Jesus and the preaching of the apostles. The eschatological element in the fourth gospel is not accidental; it is fundamental.'

With regard to the third point, the historicity of the fourth gospel, Mr. Barratt does not hesitate to say that we must not look for accurate historical data in John, but he also takes care to say that, as against apocalypticism and gnosticism which might both be regarded as a flight from history, John asserted the primacy of history. The tendency of much recent work on the synoptic gospels has been to emphasize the fact that their primary purpose was not historical but theological; this has to some extent diminished the sharpness of the contrast between the fourth gospel and the synoptists in the matter of historical accuracy. Nevertheless certain contrasts will always continue to raise questions which cannot be evaded. The Jerusalem ministry, the cleansing of the Temple placed at the beginning of the ministry, the date of the crucifixion, the raising of Lazarrus, all these present historical difficulties and Mr. Barrett does not evade them. With regard to the cleansing of the Temple and the date of the last supper and the crucifixion, he is of the opinion that the Marcan account is to be accepted as historical, and that John's alterations were dictated by theological considerations. The question of the miracles he rightly refuses to dismiss on *a priori* grounds, and deals with each incident as it appears to be related to John's central purpose of interpretation. While he says that there is no evidence for the view that John freely created narrative material for allegorical purposes, he states plainly that John did not hesitate to rewrite and rearrange synoptic material, and in his treatment of such incidents as the turning of water into wine, and the crucial case of the raising of Lazarus, he shows that he regards them as examples of this process, and points out the elements in the synoptic narratives which have been brought together and transformed into *semeia*, symbolic narratives which go to make up his total interpretation of the glory of the Incarnate Word. Mr. Barratt's treatment of the meaning of *semeion* and its use by the author of the gospel is particularly valuable.

While differences of opinion on details inevitably remain in the mind, one can only express deep thankfulness for the combination of sanity and freedom, the clarity of exposition, the wealth of scholarship, and the sure grasp of the essential purpose of this greatest of New Testament writings, which make this new commentary a very precious gift to the Church.

S. H. Hooke

THE DAZZLING DARKNESS*

> 'Those who are *au fait* with the Ignatian Exercises, the Sulpician method and other higher reaches of mysticism are warned that there is nothing here for them . . . We know that they are beyond us; we know also that our own prayer is highly unsatisfactory, a duty anticipated often with distaste, embarked upon with reluctance, and abandoned with relief;

* *The Dazzling Darkness*: An Essay on the Experience of Prayer, by Guy Bowden. (Longmans, 8/6. 1950.)

and we see no possible bridge between our own prayer and prayer as it ought to be' (pp. 2-3).

This is a book for the many of us who have begun to pray, but do not seem to progress in prayer; and it is for those whose reading on the subject has been either limited or unproductive. At the same time, it is written for intelligent readers, seasoned with illustrative quotations from the Bible, Archbishop Fenelon, and modern literature. It finds illuminating analogies both in modern psychological study and in golf!

At the outset, Canon Bowden asks the question 'Is prayer dull?' and recommends Fenelon's advice 'If God bores you, tell Him so' (p. 99). But to those who feel that in answer to prayer God ought to provide them with appropriate feelings, he says

> 'The assumption that God *ought* to do anything wrecks the whole relationship between the soul and God, because it puts God in the place of a servant who is expected to perform certain duties' (p. 24).

From the analogy of human love, he points out that prayer for most of us will be the steady life of devotion rather than the first ecstatic thrill.

Prayer may be unsensational, but it need not be unsatisfying. The author adduces some penetrating reasons why prayer often seems dull. Many of those who find it so have never taken the trouble really to know God, or to find out much about Him — but remain content with a very misty picture of 'One Above'.

> 'If St. John's great saying that God is Love is quoted to the average congregation, they settle deeper in their sleep, thinking that they have heard that before; but if they do, it is evidence that they never really have heard it, in the sense of understanding and really taking in that supreme wonder: they have never really thought about the astonishing and paradoxical humility that that saying implies'.

Thus Canon Bowden lays great stress upon mental discipline as a preliminary to prayer—of thinking which need not be especially deep or clever, but which must be honest and sincere. Again, a dull prayer is very often an uncharitable prayer:

> 'Prayer will not come alive until we remember the fellowship, the family, and ask that all our fellow-pray-ers may receive those graces which we so desire ourselves' (p. 124).

The author reminds us, and most of us need to be reminded over and over again, that thanksgiving for God's mercies is a powerful antidote to *accidie* or dull despair in prayer.

Many of the readers of this little book will feel that it speaks to them just where they are. They will not be swept away by religious ecstasy; yet the book is not entirely unemotional, not without humour, and full of good sense.

ALAN DUNSTAN

THE TESTIMONY OF ST. PAUL TO CHRIST

> 'With the possible exception of Cicero, we know Paul more intimately, and more immediately, than any other person of the Ancient World'. (p. 14).

This is the verdict of Canon Edward Carpenter of Westminster Abbey in his volume of Lenten addresses entitled *That Man Paul*[1]. Not a few critical students of the Pauline Epistles and St. Luke's *Acts of the Apostles* will agree with Canon Carpenter. Archdeacon Paley's *Horae Paulinae* is a book still worth

[1] *That Man Paul*, by Canon E. Carpenter (Longmans Green and Co., 3/-. 1953.)

reading by those whose ignorance of Christian origins renders them complacent agnostics. Professor Sir Wm. Ramsay, an accomplished scholar of classical antiquity, was in a somewhat similar condition when, for the first time, he read in the Greek St. Paul's *Epistle to the Galatians* and said to himself as he read: ' This is more vivid than anything I have read in the Greek historians — this is not myth, it is actuality '; and thereafter the Apostle to the Gentiles became for Ramsay the most arresting figure in the Hellenic world.

In days when Jesus and His Mission as related in the Canonical Gospels are for many little more than myth, it might be an antidote for them to begin their study of the historical Jesus, not in the Gospels but in the Epistles of St. Paul. Readers of Dr. R. J. Knowling's *Witness of the Epistles*[2] and *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*[3] would be amazed by the discovery that a claim can be made for the historicity of Jesus not less convincing than that made for St. Paul, although St. Paul regarded his knowledge of Jesus ' according to the flesh ' as subordinate to his knowledge of Jesus according to the Spirit.

Canon Carpenter's Lenten Addresses are not embodiments of original research but are brilliant presentations of Pauline faith and spiritual experience granted to him through his conversion. They provide an understanding modernity which the untrained reader of the Pauline Epistles is hardly likely to secure for himself. Canon Carpenter emphasizes in his lectures the dynamic and evolutionary quality of the Pauline Gospel. He writes of the Apostle to the Gentiles:

> ' He could cherish intense belief along with scepticism and doubt: he could believe both in faith and in works: in the Providence of God and in the freedom and responsibility of man. He always found room for more truth and was humble enough to learn. In his teaching he distinguished between what he had received from the Lord and what was his own.
>
> It is thoroughly in keeping with this whole attitude, therefore, that Paul was able, without compromising himself, to shed some old beliefs and to prune and refine others as the years passed on ' (p. 90).

Canon Carpenter's volume is supplemented in many ways by the last book of Dr. Martin Dibelius,[4] who died before its completion. This completion, however, has been most competently achieved by his former pupil, Prof. W. G. Kümmel of Marburg University. Dr. Kümmel emphasises St. Paul's conviction ' If any man be in Christ he is a new *creation*: Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new ' (*Cor.* v, 17). Dr. Kümmel writes:

> ' Paul's work would not have been possible if he had not, like the acute theological thinker that he was, recognised the new nature of Christianity in all its depth, and so thought out the new message in all its essentials and guarded it from being misunderstood. For him, the former Pharisee, the relation between God and man had been characterised, as a matter of course, by God's demands in the Law and by man's fulfilment of them; and as a Jew he had taken it equally for granted that the same God had made his covenant of grace with the fathers and was for that very reason making those demands in dealing with the Jews. Now, however, Paul had been convinced by his conversion that God had made Jesus Christ, whom the Jews had rejected and crucified, the heavenly Lord; that God had actually called the despised people into that Lord's Church, and so by the act of salvation that he had carried out in the last days, had made that people his own. Paul was therefore certain that from now all knowledge

[2] Longmans, 1892.
[3] Hodder and Stoughton, 1905.
[4] *Paul*, by Martin Dibelius and W. G. Kümmel. Translated by Frank Clarke (Longmans Green and Co., 7/6. 1953.)

about the relation between God and man must proceed from that divine act, that man was no longer to be asked first what he had done and was doing, but whether he allowed his life to be laid hold of and ordered by God's act of salvation.

That implied on the one hand that the Christian could not be tied down to compliance with the Jewish Law, and that Christianity was, by its principles, definitely separated from Judaism and established as a new religion of a different kind' (p. 156 f.).

This *newness* of the Christian Religion, St. Paul derived from his own spiritual experience but he realized that his experience had originated with Jesus and was of the essence of His Gospel:

'Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty' (II *Cor.* iii, 17.)

But whence did St. Paul derive his idea of Christianizing the Roman Empire? May it not have been from the School of Gamaliel? Did not a number of Gamaliel's pupils, in addition to their rabbinical training, receive a special preparation to fit them for missionary work in Hellenic paganism? Neither Carpenter nor Dibelius refers to this. H.D.A.M.

AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE TWO GERMAN CHURCHES

When the Germans were swept like a tornado into the extremes of a crazy political Hitler dictatorship (Hitler was a Roman Catholic), with consequences we had all to bear and deal with as best we could, it was natural that the two churches which divide Germany between them should, in respect of its minority of live members, look at one another with a new sympathy. Hitler gave lollipops and prisons, favours and the death penalty, as well as stabs in the backstreets, to individuals of both churches, so to say, with an impartial hand. These imbecile extravagances of a Racial Religion, in which so many Germans took for a season, so secret a pride, had the effect of making Catholic and Protestant feel akin. They began to do things together for the first time since Luther died and the Thirty Years War ended. This co-operation continued during the late war, both in their joint-service to Hitler's war, and in other ways. It looked for a little while as though *Una Sancta* might add up soon to a solid and reconciling achievement in Germany. But these hopes were shattered when a Roman Catholic Chancellor succeeded Hitler and when the Roman Catholic Church added Mary as a Fourth Person to the Trinity of its totalitarian façade. It is in the matrix of these kinds of modern experiences of the two churches that Prof. Loewenich's book* has taken shape. He must not be construed simply as a critic, on points which he states with care and precision, of the Mother Church. He *is* that. But he is equally a critic of his own Evangelical Church, against which he frames a bill, again with carefully documented points, for an unchristian authoritarianism not less formidable than that of the Roman Church.

In the earlier part of the book, a sketch is given of the vituperative relations, at a high level, of the two churches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In sheer bad language, when his dialectic was running away with him, Luther, like Hitler, was hard to beat. Some of the biographies of Luther, written by Roman Catholics, however, may be said to reach the Luther level of violent hatred and abuse. With all the more satisfaction, therefore, the author is able to record the emergence of a new tolerance towards Luther and Lutheranism, in modern Catholic scholarship. He can praise and even approve some of the later work which has appeared. He is greatly impressed

* *Der moderne Katholizismus*, by Walter von Loewenich. 460 pp. (Luther Verlag Witten, 1955.)

by the best of the Modernist Catholic work of the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth, which assumes heroic form in the work of Tyrell and Loisy, and finds classical expression in Von Huegel. But *pari passu* with these hopeful individual developments is also the growth of the power of the Church as such, expressed by the Vatican in the person of the Pope. It is these later decisions and pronouncements which are the voice of the Roman Church and are binding on all Roman Catholics. He quotes the appropriate Encyclicals. The conclusion is the same when he examines the remarkable modern movements within the Roman Church: Catholic Action; Youth and Women's Movements; Biblical and Liturgical Movements; the *Una Sancta* Movement; the treatment of the Social Question at the top level; the important experiment—not least in France—with Worker Priests; School Politics; the censorship of books and the Church attitude towards Art.

Who could fail to be impressed with these achievements of the Papal Church, world-wide, and wrapped as they are, in the soft and sympathetic garments of universal, conscientious and continuous pastoral works of charity? But, in essence, amid all these impressive developments, which have done so much to assure the faithful that the future belongs to the Roman Church and to the Roman Church alone, the authoritarian, unconditional attitude of the Roman Church towards other Churches remains unchanged. Indeed, the attitude itself expands, as witness the new Mariolatry.

The author admits that the actual history of the modern world, which has done so much to destroy our belief in reason and ordered progress, has given a new power to Roman Catholicism. The helplessness of man, in a world run amok, has evoked a universal cry for authority and security. The Roman Church possesses these goods *par excellence*, and has reaped from modern man's helplessness a great harvest. The identical needs have driven the German Evangelical Church back on Lutheran Authoritarianism and opened a wide, attractive field to the authoritarian theology of Karl Barth, which began its large course in Germany in 1922. Nevertheless, an unbridgable gulf remains. They are blind who will not see. Barthianism and the authoritarian tendencies of the post-war Evangelical Church are of the same spiritual substance as the intransigent papal claims of Rome itself.

> 'A decision has to be made as to whether post-war Protestantism is bravely and believingly to affirm and go further on the road pioneered in the Reformation, or whether it is to beat a retreat to some kind of restorative Catholic solution.'

It is the search for truth which gives the *imprimatur* of the Christian life. It is truth that must decide. The author has two biblical quotations as preface to his book, as his lodestars to indicate what he deems the essential quality of the Christian life:

> 'We can do nothing against truth, but for the truth.' (*2 Cor.* xiii: 8, R.V.).
> 'The truth shall make you free.' (*John* viii: 32, R.V.).

But the author, like his readers, has had enough experience of dialectics in human affairs, to accept it philosophically, and not go to pieces down one of the lines. We should be able to live our Christian lives with a certain detachment from the particular set of beliefs and the particular Church to which we are attached. We should learn to think in oecumenical perspective. To make absolute and unconditional the creed fo one's own Church, should seem to us to be less than Christian.

> 'Our longing must be directed to the *coming* Church. In this way inter-Church tolerance grows. Could we really seriously desire that the Lutheran form of Christianity should be the only one?'

Painful as is the disunity of the churches, there is a deeper divine meaning to be seen in Catholic and Protestant, side by side. Churches and creeds should learn from each other, 'while they are with each other in the way'.

> 'Something would be lost to Christianity if the Catholic expression of Christianity were no longer to be found with the Lutheran and that of the Free Churches . . . Similarly, something decisive would be lost from Christianity, if Protestantism, by returning to the Roman Church, were to abandon its inheritance. The ideal lies above and beyond the creeds, and it will never be realised by one or the other disappearing from the scene.' (p. 431).

Such a view need not and should not diminish the loyalty to or strength of attachment to our own Church. On the contrary. Nor is this relativity an equalisation. In relation to a true Christianity, the particularities achieved by different Churches are not on the same level. Walther von Loewenich concludes his book as a good Lutheran, along with this appreciation of the fruitfulness of the divided Church and the dialectical processes which ensue and which make the substance of our imperfect human history:

> 'We must, with our insight into this relativity, cling to our Lutheran Protestantism. We have to defend and extend, just because our aim is the *Una Sancta*. In this sense, indeed, we confess ourselves to belong to the one, holy, apostolic, Catholic Church.' (p. 432).

Touching modern Roman Catholicism, and whatever may be its expressions to-morrow and the day after, he rests in the faith that if the Karl Barths draw down rain from the Cloud of the Unknowable, the Bultmanns will continue to raise up new varieties of spiritual dandelions in the meadows of the Protestant landscape.

RENNIE SMITH

SPIRIT AND COMMUNION*

In the Fernley-Hartley lectures for 1953 Mr. George set himself a considerable task which he has discharged with great thoroughness. His work enables us to ask a question which may seem to show ingratitude to the author: can communion with God be treated as a subject by itself within the New Testament without writing a book on the theology of the New Testament? Mr. George's book is the product of his attempt to answer this question in the affirmative, and it is certainly a most useful examination of material, discussed with great care and skill: but it seems ultimately to leave one convinced that the subject is not congenial to the New Testament. There we are taught to be ready to be confronted with God, and it is only those who have a foretaste (a piece of the future projected back into their present) who have anything like a vision of him. There is no revelation to an individual engaged in mystic contemplation, but revelation is always that of the time of the end.

Mr. George is well aware of all this and rightly criticizes Bishop Kirk for his belief that whatever may be the truth about the rest of the New Testament, in the Fourth Gospel hesitation about the possibility of the vision of God in this life is quite absent: 'the invisible God' is never himself the object of any vision: he 'has been made visible by Christ'. Quoting 1 *John*, 3:2 the author adds, 'This seems to imply that such a vision is lacking at present'. (p. 209). But if God is made visible in Christ, there is communion with him for us through

* *Communion with God in the New Testament*. A. Raymond George (Epworth Press. 1953; 25/-).
Holy Communion and Holy Spirit. A Study in Doctrinal Relationship. J. E. L. Oulton, D.C. (S.P.C.K. 1951; 15/-).

Christ. What it means to be 'in Christ' is discussed in detail, and is, as it indeed must be, the heart of the book.

Before we can show what the author's conclusion is on the subject, we must notice his method: he divides Christian piety into two types, mystical and prophetic, but consideration of this suggests a more complex scheme, a classification according to the proportions in which they contain mysticism *par excellence*, the piety of an I-thou relation, and that type which lays stress on man's separation from God.

The various strands of the New Testament are then considered in turn, the author's view of the historical value of the evidence being first stated in these terms:

> 'No first-class life of Jesus has been written, but the writings of such men as Dodd, Vincent Taylor, T. W. Manson, and W. Manson (to mention only a few leading names) show that men thoroughly conversant with the methods of form-criticism can believe that we know a good deal about Jesus, and that what we thus know is not utterly unlike the traditional picture.'

It is therefore natural for him to begin not with Paul, our earliest source, but with the Lord himself, the earliest *persona* of our evidence. On the prayers of Jesus, he concludes that they are

> 'Of the prophetic rather than the mystical type. They show a spirit of intimacy which among the Jews had been unusual, but there is no trace of mystical absorption. They are deepply rooted in the Old Testament Scriptures. . . . Their combination of petition with acceptance of the Divine Will is something new and creative in the history of prayer.' (p. 57).

The investigation of the teaching of Jesus on prayer is made through a detailed investigation based on source-criticism, but the critical position is curiously 'dated', a fact illustrated by the acceptance of Streeter's view that the Lord's Prayer is found in both M and L, a view now generally abandoned by those whose studies follow the august Streeter tradition, in favour of the view that we have Matthaean and Lucan versions of a Q form. But this is a detail: Mr. George never deserts the path of balance and sanity. In Jesus' teaching 'the exhortation to pray is eschatological, which is an important step forward in our investigation.' (p. 61). Nevertheless, for Jesus 'communion with God seems to have consisted chiefly in prayer, indeed in private prayer'. The author does not stress or indeed in this context mention the interesting corollary of this—that this communion of the Lord was not for him through an eschatological sacrament; but adds later that private prayer 'is the most immediate of all the modes of approach to God'. Private prayer in the form of prophetic prayer is 'entirely immediate in that it dispenses with duty, nature, men, words spoken or read, symbols and sacraments, at any rate during the period of private prayer, however great a part some of these may have played in preparation for it.' (pp. 119-120).

We have already called attention to Mr. George's method in beginning with the Synoptic Gospels; at the opening of Chapter Five, on The Primitive Church, he lists the sources for this period: 'The Acts is a convenient source, but there are varying views of its reliability. . . . An earlier source is the Pauline Epistles, . . . A third source is the synoptic Gospels' but his reliance on 'most of the sayings as genuine' weakens their value for this period and strengthens them in his eyes for the teaching of Jesus. In this part of his study we are brought through contact with *Ac*, 2:42 to a discussion of *koinonia*, discussed more fully in connection with the Pauline passages. Before we reach this fuller discussion the author comes to this conclusion on the idea

contained in the words 'in Christ' and 'with Christ', after reviewing the contributions of many theologians: 'Christianity had already in Paul's day developed a cult, Baptism and the Eucharist, and Christ's death could easily be compared with the Passover. Thus the thought could hardly be avoided that the Christian who took part in this cult shared in some sense in the events, namely the death and resurrection of Christ. This may well be the sole and sufficient explanation of all the our—compounds; and from these it is but a slight development to the expression "in Christ".' (pp. 163-154). Christ's own union with his Father, then, is immediate while that of his Church is in him as the centre of worship. Nevertheless, Christ also taught his followers to practise that same immediate approach to God which he practised.

The main conclusions with regard to *koinonia* are that it means 'participation', 'having a share in' (in the Body and Blood of Christ in 1 *Cor.*, 10:16; consistently, in Christ himself as the Son in 1 *Cor.*, 1:9, in the Spirit in *Phil.*, 2:1, in Christ's sufferings in *Phil.*, 3:10), that it belongs to the I-thou type of relation, and helps to describe a Pauline type of piety which 'is indeed characteristically Christian, and to some extent normative; coming after the death and resurrection of Christ as the words of Christ do not, it has some claim to be considered as more typical of Christianity than that of the synoptic Gospels.' (p. 195). The caution shown in this citation is typical of the author, and he does not decide between the claims which he hints to be rivals. This hesitation might be resolved if we can remember that the Christ whose teaching on communion with God in the synoptics has been exhibited is the Christ who regarded himself as the Son of God sent for humiliation on behalf of his people, the Servant destined to be, indeed already being proleptically the glorified Son of Man. Thus the ghost of 'Jesus or Paul?' can be effectively laid and the treatment in such a book as this be unified.

We cannot do better than to conclude a review of a work which admirably sacrifices any ambition to arrest the attention to sanity and balance, with the author's own words at the end: 'We are not said to find Christ here or there or to be "in Christ" when we do this or that, because no part of life, apart from sin, is for the Christian not "in Christ". It is the *whole* Christian life, lived in faith, nurtured by worship, prayer, and the sacraments, and flowing out into good works, which is the life in Christ, communion with God.'

For Mr. George 'the Eucharist is a sacrament of continuance rather than of entry.' (p. 190). Dr. Oulton would stress this statement. In his book, *Holy Communion and Holy Spirit*, he has a chapter on the two sacraments which is of the greatest importance for presenting his point of view, which rejects that suggested perhaps by some words of Archbishop Brilioth, 'that in Pauline thought the eucharist makes us members of that body'. 'We must place the two doctrines in their proper order, the wider before the more restricted: first, that of the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit; then that of the presence of Christ as imparted to recipients of the Holy Communion. This is the New Testament order, and it must not be reversed.' (p. 127). Again, 'If . . . we were to limit the grace of God in Christ to those occasions when we receive the Holy Communion or participate in sacramental rites, we should be in danger of narrowing the field of God's grace and of forming a defective conception of it . . . ' (p. 129).

This is of course the catholic view, held in common by Anglican and Eastern orthodoxy. That it is Anglican is ably argued by reference to the Catechism on the benefits of partaking in the Lord's Supper: 'The implication is that there is already in our souls something akin to that which we receive. We are *strengthened* and *refreshed.*'

More specifically on the Holy Spirit, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the first chapter, on The Fellowship of the Upper Room, might have traced

the idea both of community and of the Spirit further back into the Old Testament. This is a marked want in Ch. III, on *The Acts of the postles*: the account of Pentecost is not linked with the Old Testament except by a quotation from McNeile. The Holy Spirit is not only the Spirit of Jesus, though this is one of the contributions of Acts to our conception of him. In the Pauline epistles a good case can be made out for emphasizing this source of our understanding of the Holy Spirit: as Dr. Oulton says, 'St. Paul frequently uses identical phrases to describe the relation of the Christian to Christ on the one hand or to the Holy Spirit on the other', a statement well documented. (p. 54). There is therefore a close affinity between fellowship in the Holy Spirit and fellowship in the Body of Christ.

When discussing the Johannine writings Dr. Oulton naturally gives much space to *Jn* 6. If he surprises by taking the view that 'the discourse is based on teaching originally given by our Lord on the occasion to which it is attached in the Gospel' (p. 78) he certainly makes useful observations on the meaning of the passage which he takes to be not exclusively a 'eucharistic' discourse, the eucharist being the subject more specifically from v. 51b. It is Jesus himself who is the bread of the soul in vv. 35-51a.

Sensible as is Dr. Oulton's general position, which has already been indicated, he seems to feel less deep a sympathy than one might expect with those for whom the Sacrament illuminates every corner of Life. He begins an interesting chapter on 'In Thy Light shall we see Light' with these words: 'When we relate the gift of the eucharist to the life of the Church, of which the Sacrament forms only a part . . .' This is unsatisfactory: to take an análogy from everyday life, all that a family do together, such as the common partaking of meals, is more than 'only a part' of their family life and fellowship. It is true that the latter could exist in spirit if outward circumstances necessitated the continual separation of the members of the family, but their conversations, partaking of meals together, and so on, are more than 'only a part' of their family life: these activities express, actualize, develop, deepen, increase the understanding—or misunderstanding!—of their fellowship, and do something more which, like the action of the communion, is imponderable. The same chapter fails to discuss the conception of the Spirit in *Luke Acts*, which would have provided a sort of complement to the statement (p. 173) that 'the presence of the Spirit within a man urges him to look forward beyond this present conflict'. In the Lucan conception, the Spirit through divinely appointed human agents effects the coming of the kingdom.

Mr. George would be shy of the appeal to mysticism in a discussion of Christian piety, but Dr. Oulton is careful to emphasize the 'two sides of mysticism, the present possession and the goal' (p. 177) and is right to see a correspondence in the work of the Holy Spirit, who is both 'from above' and also 'within'. In a roughly parallel way the New Testament background to the doctrine of the Holy Communion is twofold, historical and doctrinal. It is of course Jesus himself who is the pivot for these twin conceptions: 'The accounts of the Last Supper speak of a fellowship enriched and made even more intimate by him who is its centre and source. It is throughout the scene of a Person in his relationship with persons. . . . In the Epistles the dominant note is, again, a fellowship; nevertheless, now no longer a fellowship grouped round the visible form of Jesus, but a fellowship founded on things unseen. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit provides the intellectual basis for the existence of this society; yet it is not to be regarded as an abstract idea, but the explanation of a fact—the concrete fact of the new fellowship connected historically with the old, for it is still the fellowship of *Jesus*, even as the Holy Spirit who forms it is the Spirit of Jesus.' (p. 193).

These statements are true but leave out an element both historical and doctrinal: the Holy Spirit doctrine is adumbrated in the Old Testament and the Holy Spirit's activity is prior to that of the incarnate Lord. If all that the Lord does is informed by the Spirit, his institution of and presence at the Holy Communion is indeed the work of the Spirit who makes the sacrament representative of and pattern for all fellowship and all communion with God: 'the new fellowship connected historically with the old' is the leaven of tha tprocess by which God would make all men one, all men, from all time and from all spheres.

ROBERT LEANEY

CREDIT WHERE CREDIT IS DUE

In Episcopal visitations of Northern England in the eighteenth century we come across entries noting the existence of Moravian chapels or congregations. No doubt some survive to-day in England but their real centre is the U.S.A. where they were already established when John Wesley visited New England.

This latest history of the Moravians by Dr. Edward Langton[1] creates an impression of the Moravian antiquity and importance which is apt to mislead. This appears in the sub-title of the volume: *The Story of the First International Protestant Church*. According to Dr. Langton the Moravian Church was founded some 500 years ago, in 1547, but the ancestor of the Moravian Church, if it can claim any legitimate ancestor before Count Zizendorf (1738), is the Reformed Church of Bohemia whose great martyrs, John Huss (1415) and Jerome of Prague (1416) were burnt alive by the Council of Constance.

But who was the creator of the Reformed Church of Bohemia? It was the Englishman, John Wycliff, rightly hailed as 'The Morning Star of the Reformation' whose Bohemian scholars in Oxford carried his teaching into Bohemia and much further. John Wycliff, an Oxford scholar who wrote at least twenty Latin treatises, died before the Council of Constance but his influence was so great on the continent that his views were condemned by the Council of Constance. The Counsel condemned him to be burnt but as in 1384 he had already died the Council pronounced the burning of his bones which had to be exhumed from his grave in his parish of Lutterworth and the ashes were cast into the little stream that runs through his parish and were carried thence into the Severn, the Bristol Channel, the Atlantic Ocean and so became the symbol of Wycliffe's teaching destined to encircle the globe.

The Moravian Saxon Protestant Reformer deserves great credit for his achievement but he was not 'The Morning Star of the Reformation'. It was Zinzendorf's association with John and Charles Wesley who visited him in 1738 and were much impressed by some aspects of this Church Reform movement though depressed by others which has given the Moravian Church denomination its English significance. Here again the Methodist Movement was not derived from the Moravian. The two movements were contemporary and maintained their independence.

H.D.A.M.

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE A.V. BIBLE*

The Cambridge University Press claims and is justified in claiming to have produced in its *Pitt Minion Reference Bible* 'for everyday use a Bible which is clear to read, beautiful to look at, and convenient to handle.' It is the Authorized Version of King James I printed in a beautiful type designed by Stanley Morison. The placing of references in a centre column relieves the

[1] *History of the Moravian Church*, by Edward Langton, D.D., F.R.Hist.Soc. (Allen & Unwin, 1956; 12/6).

* *Pitt Minion Reference Bible*. (C.U.P., Bentley House, N.W.1, 1953; 60/-.)

text from the figures and numbers which for more than three centuries have distracted the eye of the reader.

The *Pitt Mission Reference Bible* is available in twenty-nine styles ranging in price from 13/6 to 67/6. Excellent maps, helpful concordances and in some cases coloured illustrations are included in the different styles. The binding, the paper, as well as the print, are most attractive.

H.D.A.M.

A RE-CONSIDERATION OF BROWNING*

'Mr. Duffin is an unfashionable critic,' says *The Times* reviewer, 'because he is concerned with the moral, even the religious content of poetry.' Certainly he has chosen to deal with a poet who was eminently serious about religion. 'I like religion to be treated seriously,' Browning was heard to remark, no doubt in reference to that best-seller *Robert Elsmere,* 'and I don't want to know what this curate or that curate thought about it. *No, I don't!'*

In an introductory section and again in a long chapter Mr. Duffin shows how Browning contemplates the contemporary religious scene. He considers Dissent, Roman Catholicism and Rationalism (but not Anglicanism), and decides to remain faithful to the religion of the chapel, 'unlearned' but witnessing to God's infinite goodness and love. At the same time he is haunted by the problem of evil, which seems to argue deficiency of love, or alternatively of power, in God. He finds the solution in the Incarnation and the Atonement. Yet Browning does not feel he is taking his stand on revelation, and indeed his religion was criticised as 'home-made'. His approach is partly intellectual and partly mystical. Is he then a mystical poet? No! answers Mr. Duffin. We can call him a Christian mystic on the strength of one experience, of which there is evidence in *Christmas Eve and Easter Day.* He is possessed also by a more generalized mysticism, the habit of mind which divines the spiritual in the common things of life. But he is not a mystical *poet* because after all the texture of the mystic sense in him is thin and the expression of it dull and dreary. (Mr. Duffin is an authority on Wordsworth.)

Though Christ is the key to the problem of Love versus Power, we shall not see infinite power matched with infinite love in this state of probation. Only the after-life will make all fair. 'The weakness of the compensation theory', remarks Mr. Duffin, 'is, first, that it is built on the pusillanimous denial of life as good, and second, that it seems to represent God as having planned a bad world followed by a good one to atone for the first, which is uneconomic as well as inconsiderate.'

It is a penetrating judgment of our author that Browning was fortunate in having been grounded in a religious belief.

> 'The man who, having been deprived of religious teaching in his childhood, has to construct a religion within the narrow limits of his own mind and a single lifetime, and has moreover to start building without foundation, to take off from nowhere, is likely to produce something at worst ramshackle, at best fantastic.'

In the construction of his personal belief Browning had, like most of his contemporaries, to face 'doubt'. But his attitude towards it is robust: doubt exists to strengthen faith.

**Amphibian: a Reconsideration of Browning.* By Henry Charles Duffin. (Bowes & Bowes. 30/-. 1956.)

Mr. Duffin's summing-up of Browning as a poet is contained in a final chapter entitled 'All's over then. Does truth sound bitter?' The truth, put bluntly, is that Browning is not a poet but a force of nature; more accurately, 'we have a huge formless genius, a limited art, unchallenged supremacy in love poetry'.

C. G. CHALLENGER

CORRESPONDENCE

THE RESURRECTION OF PROFESSOR BETHUNE-BAKER

SIR,

I owe a debt to the late Dr. Bethune-Baker, and I take this opportunity of repaying it by thanking Dr. Major both for his review of Professor Pittenger's re-issue of Bethune-Baker's theological writings, and for his appreciative words about Bethune-Baker himself.

A few years ago I picked up from a second-hand book box a copy of *Early Traditions About Jesus,* and on the fly leaf there is written in pencil—'from J.F.B.B., Xmas, 1929'. Evidently a personal gift to a friend. And that personal message in his own handwriting always seems to me to bring the author very close.

I would commend Bethune-Baker's statement from this book in regard to the Resurrection of Jesus. They are the closing words of chapter 8.

> 'The only question that can arise is whether the remarkable phenomena described in the stories of the Resurrection are to be regarded as having actually happened as they are told, or whether the manifestations of the Risen Jesus were made in the Spirit to the spirits of His disciples. In the present state of our knowledge of the ways in which God works in the world, in and through men, and of the ways in which disciples of Jesus ever since have become convinced of His spirtual presence and will and power to help them, it is reasonable to suppose that the first manifestations were of the same spiritual order as the later ones, and in any case not of a physical, visible, audible kind.'

Could it have been better said? It seems to me to be sanctified common sense expressed in language understandable by the ordinary man. And one 'ordinary man' would like to say with great gratitude, Thank you, Bethune-Baker! And, Thank you, Dr. Major—for much.

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THE RESURRECTION OF DR. BETHUNE-BAKER

SIR,

I was encouraged a little, in these days of apologetic retreat, to read your review in the September Conference number of the new American editon of Bethune-Baker's works. For I have met many theological students—even 'modern churchmen'—who deny knowledge of him and his great service for liberal Christianity. *Eheu fugaces anni!* Perhaps America may lead the coming advance on the retreating cohorts of an outworn system of dogma.

I write, however, to express the hope that in theological colleges his erudite treatise on 'The Early History of Christian Doctrine' will not be forgotten. When I was teaching in Manchester, and also in St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, I found it invaluable.

During the 1939 Conference at Girton College, Cambridge, I had a two-hours conversation with him in his home. He had recently retired from his Chair. We discussed the continuing problem of 'Miracle'. He gave me his views on the inevitable changes that must come in the dogmatic structure of our Christian Faith. He told me how and why he remained true to *Ecclesia Anglicana* in spite of much theological obscurantism, indecision and lethargy. 'I find in The Church of England what is necessary to my sense of History,' he said. He was primarily a forward-looking historian of Christian Doctrine.

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CORRECTION.—*Modern Churchman*, vol. xlvi, page 190, ninth line from foot: read *wood* for *work*.—ED., *Modern Churchman*.